NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCXCII.

NOVEMBER, 1897.

THE LIFE OF TENNYSON.

BY EDMUND GOSSE.

It would be difficult to overestimate the anxiety with which lovers of literature have awaited Lord Tennyson's biography of his illustrious father. If this book, so slowly prepared, had proved a failure, the fact would have been almost a public calamity. Such an opportunity of laying the foundations of a history of imaginative literature in the Victorian Age would never occur again, while the Letters of Matthew Arnold and the Life of Robert Browning had proved to us that disappointment might follow on the best possible intentions of a biographer. One's first duty, therefore, in speaking about the massive memoir of Alfred, Lord Tennyson, just published by his son Hallam, is to allay all fears of this kind. It is possible to carp at the arrangement of the parts of this book, at the conduct of its materials; it is possible to point to minor issues where the critic may be allowed to find fault with the art of the biographer. But in the main, all fault-finding must be borne down by the extraordinary wealth and fulness of the treasure produced. When a lucky bag is opened, and a cataract of the most exquisite jewels pours from it, it is absurd, on the spot, to draw attention to questionable taste in some of the settings. For the moment we can but gape in pleased excitement at the unexpected richness of the gift.

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"Unexpected," I have allowed myself to say, for no one, I suppose, had any premonition of the variety and splendor of the material at Lord Tennyson's disposal. We knew that his father had lived a very sequestered existence, that he had taken no part in public affairs, that he had been a recluse and a saunterer all his days. External curiosity had examined every published record. In various volumes, of which Mr. Arthur Waugh's graceful and accomplished critical biography was the best, a mosaic of the mild events and emotions of the poet's outward career had been presented to us. It seemed impossible that there could be very much more to be said. There is nothing to be recorded about the career of a Cedar of Lebanon. The immobile grandeur of Tennyson in isolation seemed to preclude any excitement in the actual story of his life. All this proves, most happily, to have been an error. Lord Tennyson is the possessor of copious records and illustrations of the inward, mental life—records which exceed in volume those which we possess of any other poet of the importance of Tennyson. He enables us to look behind the curtain, to see the artist at work, and it is this which raises the biography to a rank in the first order of such writing.

Before we glance at the composition of the poet's character, a reflection may be permitted on the general impression which the life gives us. We are conscious in it of a singular slowness of progression. A sort of premonition of great length of days seems to have given the vital forces of Tennyson a leisurely method of advance. In this he resembles Dante, and still more Milton, who were not afraid of "wasting their time," but could be silent long, and wait in patience for the heavenly spark to fall. By the side of poets fore-doomed to early death, such as Shelley and Keats, in their rushing passion of utterance, Tennyson and Milton are positive tardigrades. This involves a curious question, this precipitancy being apparently the sign, though of course a wholly unconscious sign, of a sapped vitality. But there have been cases of apparent hurry in those who had a vast lifetime ahead of them. In particular, in Robert Browning, who, on the last occasion on which I saw him, not long before his death, surveying his long and over-copious poetical career, lamented to me the abundance of his work, and added, "I was always too much afraid of wasting my time." It was characteristic of Tennyson that he had the

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fortitude, and the self-support, needful to the employment of long periods in apparent entire idleness, these being really stretches of invaluable incubating meditation.

The extension and serenity of Tennyson's career give his memoir a singular aspect of solidity. At the very foundation of the feverish, shallow "literary life" of the last sixty years there is seen to extend this solid stratum of pure and austere imaginative art. From end to end of the reign, whatever there may happen to be above, there is Tennyson below, there is this one man, of incomparable distinction, living his life coolly, noiselessly, and persistently. As I put down the second of these volumes, a line by the old Platonist, Henry More, came suddenly to my memory:

"Ourselves live most, when most we feed our central fire."

If this be true, no one has, in our age, lived more than the dreamy hermit of Farringford, for certainly no one has fed his central fire more sedulously. And this, it appears to me, is the secret of the strange fascination of this book. It is a record, so full as perhaps has never before been given to the world, of the growth and progress of the mind of a great imaginative artist.

The reader will naturally inquire what is the most important of the new features of an external kind which are added to our portrait of the poet. The answer must certainly be the revelation of the crisis, hitherto concealed with absolute success, which threatened, in 1844, to overwhelm his health and his material existence. Leaving the consideration of this for a moment, we may briefly refer to the interesting fulness in which the home-life in childhood at Somersby, already partly known to us, is detailed. The Cambridge period, 1828–31, is still but faintly defined for us in a few pages. The letters written by the poet to Arthur Hallam were all destroyed by the father of the latter, an inestimable loss to us. Those who were at college with Tennyson have almost wholly passed away, and little of the history of his mind in those important years is preserved. To the anecdotes and impressions collected by Lord Tennyson, I may perhaps be permitted to add one of some interest, which I think is new. The venerable Master of Trinity, Dr. Thompson, told me that on the occasion when he first saw Tennyson, I suppose in 1828, the undergraduates were trooping in to dinner in Hall, and at the door he observed a very tall lad leaning against the doorway and

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hesitating to enter, his lustrous eyes like those of a frightened animal. Dr. Thompson said that he could recall, after sixty years, this sudden picture to his mind's eye with complete distinctness, and that he was struck from this first moment by the magic of the face. Some of the phrases Lord Tennyson records for the first time are very interesting. Of a hasty speech the young poet remarked, "That's the swift decision of one who sees only half the truth," and of a certain person, "There's a want of central dignity in him."

It is probable that the inner life was progressing in silence during these undergraduate days, in which Tennyson seems to have awakened little or no interest in the minds of his elders and teachers, and a sort of inarticulate enthusiasm in those of a few select contemporaries. Unfortunately, his Cambridge letters appear to be lost. One fragment of a somewhat alembicated epistle to an aunt—"I wish to Heaven I had Prince Hussain's fairy carpet to transport me along the deeps of air to your coterie"—seems to be the only scrap of his correspondence from Cambridge which his biographer has been able to discover. He sat "owl-like and solitary" in his rooms, and they were not in college. To myself, the most luminous touch is found in a story that Whewell, his tutor, suddenly called out in class, "Mr. Tennyson, what's the compound interest of a penny put out at the Christian era up to the present time?" with the result of making the unwilling young mathematician swim up out of what proved to be the entrancing depths of Virgil. I observe that Lord Tennyson mentions the excellent though irregular classical training which his father and his uncles had received from Dr. Tennyson at Somersby. In illustration of this, perhaps I may mention here that the poet told me that before he went up to matriculate at Trinity, his father insisted on hearing him recite by heart the entire four books of the Odes of Horace, an ordeal through which he satisfactorily passed on successive mornings in the rector's study.

The romantic expedition of certain Cambridge undergraduates to Spain, in 1830, in aid of the insurgents under Torrijos, remains shrouded in the deepest mystery. Lord Tennyson rather oddly remarks, "No further information upon this business has been preserved," and we are left to gather that, for some reason or other, his father was not inclined

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to talk about it in after-years. It was a serious matter: one of the young English enthusiasts—Boyd—was caught by the Spaniards and shot on the Esplanade of Malaga. On the imagination of Tennyson, whatever may have happened to him, it is certain that the gorges and cataracts of the Pyrenees laid an impress which it never lost, and which frequently appears in his writings. Moreover, in this wild expedition, and in the midst of breakneck adventures, he wrote part, at least, of his exquisite poem of "Œnone."

When the undergraduate days are closed the new light thrown on the evolution of Tennyson's character becomes at once more vivid. The sudden and terrible grief of losing Arthur Hallam is seen to have been critical in the emotional career of the poet, but it is found to be a fable that it paralyzed his nervous energy. A friend writes early in 1834: "Alfred, although much broken in spirits, is yet able to divert his thoughts from gloomy brooding, and keep his mind in activity." The first artistic production of this period of overwhelming sorrow was, as we now learn, "The Two Voices," which originally bore the gloomier title, "Thoughts of a Suicide." From this remarkable poem, by far the most serious that the poet had yet been inspired to write, Lord Tennyson quotes a MS. stanza cancelled by his father, not for any weakness of execution, but from its dismal excess; it comes after "under earth":

> "From when his baby pulses beat
> To when his hands in their last heat
> Pick at the death-mote in the sheet."

The entire record of the effect of the loss of his exquisite friend upon the temperament of Tennyson, the modification of his mental attitude which ensued, the gradual growth of the poem which eventually became "In Memoriam," and the severe self-tuition in solitude at Somersby, all combine to form a chapter of equal novelty and importance which we can do no more here than indicate.

The material conditions under which Tennyson lived in his early years have, until now, been carefully concealed from the world. His son, with a proper frankness, makes no further secret of the story, and it is of an extraordinary interest. Each of the children of the old rector of Somersby had, it seems, a little patrimony. As far as Alfred was concerned, it was just enough

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to enable him to live in extreme simplicity, and cultivate the muses on a cake of bread. He felt, as Pope and Gray, Wordsworth and Browning felt, that poetry can be pursued best by a man who possesses neither poverty nor riches, but who has just enough to live upon without carking daily care. That Tennyson's income was very small is obvious. He was long betrothed to Emily Sellwood without any prospect of marriage; in 1839 we find him writing to her, with a noble simplicity: "Perhaps I am coming to the Lincolnshire coast, but I scarcely know. The journey is so expensive and I am so poor." Two years later, on account of his poverty, she was forbidden to write to him any more, and even after the publication of his two volumes of 1842 had made him famous he lived in very cheap lodgings in the north of London. In the course of that year he sold his little estate in Grasby, Lincolnshire, and was persuaded to put this and all his other property, including a legacy then just received, into a semi-philanthropic undertaking, a project for some sort of æsthetic wood-carving. The promoter of this scheme seems to have been an addle-pated enthusiast, and in a very short time he and his scheme were absolutely bankrupt.

Tennyson lost every penny he had in the world, and at the age of thirty-five, with set habits, a total inability for ordinary work and a highly-strung nervous system, he found himself face to face with absolute indigence. He fell into a condition of acute hypochondria, and in the course of it "his friends despaired of his life." He was placed, for many months of 1843 and '44, in a hydropathic establishment in Cheltenham. As he was slowly recovering, Sir Robert Peel was induced to give him a Crown Pension of £200 a year, and it is hardly too much to say that it is to this intelligent act of royal favor that we owe the existence of a great body of incomparable poetry. It certainly is very curious, and will startle the majority of Lord Tennyson's readers to discover, that, in the very meridian of his career, the poet was reduced to utter penury, to the level of the Otways and Chattertons of harrowing narrative. Never was a pension more patriotically given, or more exactly in the nick of time. In the very month when it was granted, Tennyson wrote: "I have gone thro' a vast deal of suffering, and I begin to feel an old man." He had now a primrose path stretching before him, and nearly fifty years more of life to enjoy it in.

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Another critical period, the record of which is entirely new and of entrancing interest, deals with the composition and the public reception of "Maud" in 1855. The nation was in a feverish and even hysterical state, and the Laureate's attitude was far from being the popular one. But the degree to which Tennyson was attacked and traduced has never been made public before. He was bombarded with letters from strangers, of which a specimen is here given: "Sir, I used to worship you, but now I hate you. I loathe and detest you. You beast! Yours in aversion, * * *" No doubt this momentary revulsion was very useful to him. His intelligent admirers soon formed a bodyguard, and there was a reaction of intense popularity. But he had been much surprised and hurt, and to the end of his days he used to grumble at the cruel way in which "Maud" was attacked for its "rampant and rabid bloodthirstiness of soul," and, less absurdly, for the "key of extravagant sensibility" in which it was pitched. Now, if "Maud" be admittedly unequal, no sound critic will question that it is the poem of Tennyson's in which the variety of his genius is illustrated in its most dazzling and luxuriant fulness.

Dealing in this desultory fashion with what is of most striking novelty in these delightful volumes, it may be well to refer in passing to the section of letters interchanged between the Queen and her "noble Poet Laureate," as she calls him in a very touching letter of Oct. 6, 1892. This correspondence, of unique interest, covers nearly twenty years, and gains in warmth and depth as it proceeds. It is conducted with great dignity and loyal gravity on the one side, with a winning, womanly sweetness on the other. In 1885, the signature of the Queen's letters becomes more intimate; henceforth she is "always yours affectionately." If those who are foreign to our institutions desire to understand why Her Majesty is the object not merely of an almost superstitious national devotion but of the positive affection of all classes in England, these straight-forward, exquisitely human and unaffected letters to the most illustrious of her subjects should tend to resolve the enigma.

The main value of these two volumes, however, lies not in the illustrative matter that adorns them, or even in the additions which they make to our acquaintance with the career of their subject, but in the extraordinary light which they throw upon

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the nature of his intellect and temperament. Of this the world has hitherto known little. Tennyson walked among us withdrawn, silent, in a penumbra of dignified personal mystery. Care was taken by himself and by those who surrounded him to hedge him off from all the perturbations and reverberations of social and public life. He was like the Rose in some mediæval romance—to get a sight of him it was needful to contend with thorn-hedges and confront at least one dragon. Those who read this biography carefully will, I think, be of opinion that the necessity for this protective system resulted in large measure from the crisis of 1845. Before that time he had been highly strung, of course, but robust to an exceptional degree. Brookfield had said to him after some feat of strength, "It is not fair, Alfred, that you should be Hercules as well as Apollo." But after the breakdown of health, which was slowly cured at Cheltenham, the nervous system seems to have been always frail, always easily liable to disturbance. It was the pious and the successful labor of those around Tennyson to minimize the strain of life and muffle all its shocks. Thus, and thus only, was he able to live the unique life for which immortality designed him.

To help us to form an idea of what this arcane and hieratic existence of Tennyson was, of what occupied the thoughts of the high-priest in his secret bower of consecrated laurels, a large number of more or less eminent elderly persons—several of whom have already since passed behind the vail—have contributed their memories and impressions. These are in the highest degree unequal; of these observers there are some who lived with this astonishing person for years without, as it seems, ever once perceiving him. Others are so anxious to please the surviving members of the family, that they produce a portrait "faultily faultless, icily null," which possesses no atom of resemblance. Nothing is more curious than the absence of eye among Englishmen of acknowledged intellectual power; they reflect, they assimilate, but rarely indeed are they able to *see*. Among the blind and the one-eyed a real phenomenal artist seems miraculous, and we are almost dazzled by the extreme merit of the recollections of Mr. Aubrey de Vere. I do not hesitate to say that, after the letters and fragments of Tennyson's own, the most precious portion of these volumes is what we owe in it to Mr. de Vere.

Although, then, the scope of this review precludes quota-

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tion, I must allow myself to cite from these recollections one short passage, as an example of what it is which makes the whole record so precious. Mr. Aubrey de Vere says:

"Our many conversations, in those pleasant years, turned chiefly on Poetry, a subject on which Tennyson could say nothing that was not original. It was easy to see that to discern the Beautiful in all around us, and to reveal that beauty to others, was his special poetic vocation. In these conversations he never uttered a word that was disparaging, or tainted with the spirit of rivalship. One of the Poets least like himself, Crabbe, was among those whose merits he affirmed most unequivocally, especially his gift of a *hard* pathos. The only poet I heard him criticise roughly or unfairly was himself. 'Compare,' he once said to me, 'compare the heavy handling of my workmanship with the exquisite lightness of touch of Keats.' Another time he read aloud a song by one of the chivalrous Poets of Charles the First's time, perhaps Lovelace's 'Althea,' which Wordsworth also used to *croon* in the woods, and said, 'There! I would give all my poetry to have made one song like that!'"

These particular memories belong to 1842. What shelves of pompous biography would we not surrender for a few such notes of Milton's talk at Horton or Spenser's at Kilcolman!

This paragraph, however, skilful as it is, is quoted here not as a specimen of the art of Mr. Aubrey de Vere, but because it exemplifies the central characteristic of Tennyson's life. It was a life absolutely devoted to the service of Poetry. No mind of equal vigor, perhaps, was ever occupied for so long a period in the unbroken cultivation of the highest form of literary art, and of absolutely nothing else. Science, politics, invention, the progress of education and philanthropy, the thousand-and-one occupations of a country life, to all these he was vividly and sensitively alive, yet all were approached diliberately from their imaginative side, and if dealt with at all were dealt with poetically. Tennyson was called a dreamer, even by some who knew him well; I am bound to say that on the rare occasions when I had the honor to be in his company, this was not my impression, nor is it the impression which I carry away from his own notes and correspondence here revealed to us. No man, I should venture to say, was less a dreamer, but with the intense resolution of a practical man of affairs he drew all themes, all forms of action

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and reflection, into the vortex of his own "affairs," which was the creation of delicate poetic art.

In his preoccupation with ideas of poetic workmanship, Tennyson walked about the world forever prepared to seize, with delicate exactitude, impressions of physical beauty. In all his journeyings, he was watching for effects, for conditions, for phenomena, which he could use as the illustration or the ornament of moral ideas. What makes this new biography so invaluable is the evidence that it gives of his mode when at work. And the first place must be given to his incomparable study of the sea. It is evident that the movement of water was the physical fact which, in the whole of nature, gave Tennyson the most acute pleasure. All of us know the exquisite, and we may have thought the somewhat bold, image with which "Audley Court" closes. Here is the source of it, in a note made at Torquay in 1842: "I saw a star of phosphorescence made by the buoy appearing and disappearing in the dark sea." The sea on the coast of the English Channel displeased him; it is "not grand," he wrote, "only an angry, curt sea."

"The finest seas I have ever seen are at Valentia, on the west coast of Ireland, Mablethorpe, in Lincolnshire, and in Cornwall. At Valentia the sea was grand, without any wind blowing, and seemingly without a wave; but with the momentum of the Atlantic behind, it dashes up into foam, blue diamonds it looks like, all along the rocks, like ghosts playing at hide and seek. When I was in Cornwall it had blown a storm of wind and rain for days, and all of a sudden fell into perfect calm. I was a little inland of the cliffs, when, after a space of perfect silence, a long roll of thunder, from some wave rushing into a cavern, I suppose, came up from the distance, and died away. I *never* felt silence like that."

But at Mablethorpe, too, he had his grand phrases about the "interminable waves rolling along interminable shores of sand." And at Bonchurch he notices "a little salt pool fluttering round a stone upon the shore"; and again in Ireland "claps of thunder on the cliffs, amid the solid roar"; and at Babbicombe, in Devonshire, the marks of the tide "like serpent-coils upon the deep."

It appears that when he was in the vein he would make dozens of notes of this kind, the majority of which were never

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used. He said that his nature-similes—and we know how innumerable they are in his published works—were taken from his own observation of nature. "If by chance I find that one of my similes is like that in any author, my impulse is not to use that simile." Many of his friends have heard Tennyson express a humorous exasperation with Wordsworth or Keats for having already "used" some beautiful observation of nature, which he also, and quite independently, had made. He was extremely near-sighted, to a degree which made it dangerous for him to attempt to ride or drive, and yet, as is often the case with near-sighted people, when his attention was concentrated on an object he observed more accutely than any one. The reader of these volumes will recall many instances of this, none more surprising than that in which the poet, having gone out to listen to the song of the nightingale, remarks on the glow-worm radiance of her eye, lighted up in the darkness by catching the moonlight on its convexity.

But there was a stage of great interest between these incessant notations of the aspect of nature, and the employment of them as hewn and polished stones in the temple of his poetry. It appears that Tennyson was in the habit of selecting the most striking of his notes, and of fashioning them into verse, which he stored away for future use. Many are now embedded in the marmoreal structure of his poetry, and could not be detached save with a hammer. Others, the majority, perhaps, still lie in the architect's yard, ready for the service which they never found. Few relics of the great dead would possess a more sacred and mysterious attraction than one of those copy-books which Tennyson used to carry about with him, ready to receive, at a moment's notice, the sudden seed of song. Thus, walking in the Isle of Wight, he rapidly jotted down:

> "As those that lie on happy shores and see
> Thro' the near blossom slip the distant sail,"

and in the grounds of Park House:

> "Before the leaf,
> When all the trees stand in a mist of green,"

and, more succinctly, when he stood above the Rapids of the Shannon:

> "Ledges of battling water."

Doubtless many of the great poets have thus improvised under

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the cope of heaven—one thinks of Gray and his delicious couplet about the wood-lark—but we have rarely been taken into their confidence, and never so completely as in this case of Tennyson. Sometimes, moreover, these notes or single lines would prove, not the ornament of poems merely, but their actual germ, as, for instance, the "Charge of the Light Brigade," where the phrase "some one had blundered" formed the *nodus* around which the whole lyric, in crystallizing, took its form and metrical movement.

A considerable number of new poems are found scattered about the pages of these volumes, mixed up, in what must be admitted to be an annoying fashion, with citations from well-known published pieces. Lord Tennyson, indeed, overdoes the trick of quotation, forgetting that his father's works are in the hands of every educated person. It has been stated in the newspapers—I do not find it repeated in the Life itself—that the verses here printed for the first time are the residue of a large quantity of similar matter submitted by the present Lord Tennyson to a committee of friends, and that what is not here printed has been destroyed. One is not inclined to bewail this destruction, for the world is glutted even with beautiful things; but one would like to know who the friends were. The principal effect made on my own mind by the reading of the new poems is one of increased respect for the poet's critical acumen. There is not a single piece here which is quite good enough to bear comparison with his finest work, not one which it is conceivable will live in the memory of multitudes, as so much of his verse does. The finest, by far, can in no sense be called "new"; this is "The Hesperides," which appeared in the "Poems" of 1833, and has often, archæologically or surreptitiously, been reprinted. Lord Tennyson gives it here, with accents written by his father; in collating it with the text of 1833, I find three differences of reading. The Dragon's eye, which was "scaled," is now "sealed"; the forces which used to "make" the apple now "keep" it; and the Daughters Three are no longer "Bound about," but "Round about." None of these appears to be an improvement, and it would be interesting to know whether they represent genuine afterthoughts of the poet or are merely slips of pen or press. Lord Tennyson, by the way, invariably speaks of "the 'Poems' of 1832." Bibliography recognizes no

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such volume; he means the "Poems" of 1833, and the fact that the book came out before the earlier year had quite expired is no reason for misnaming it. We must keep to the date on the published title page, or we become hopelessly confused.

It is with the greatest unwillingness that we drag ourselves away from the consideration of this biography in further detail. It is a book practically inexhaustible; no such contribution to the purest literature has been put before the world for years and years. The character and temperament revealed in it are unique, and yet their possessor strikes us not so much by his unlikeness to his fellows as by his elevation above them.

Tennyson was a hidalgo of the imagination; the bluest blood of intellectual aristocracy flowed in his veins, and in all things, even in the smallest, there was apparent on him the stamp of an incomparable distinction of mind. His son's biography, of course, is frankly and patently a eulogy. One feels, in reading his pages, that his father looms before him like a priest, sacrosanct, so that the filial instinct is almost extinguished in the blaze of worship. It is a very pardonable excess which makes a son regard such a father as something supernatural; we also, who were not in that happy nearness, who merely sometimes might see the great man pass by in the gloom of his spectral beauty, could scarce throw off a sensation that he was more than mortal. But there is another side to this question, and plainly this apotheosis of filial and friendly worship cannot hope to remain the only portrait of Tennyson. We must have in the course of time the nodosities and the wrinkles, the rents in the prophet's purple mantle. But the great point is that he is now self-revealed in such magnificent proportions that caricature and even unfriendly photography may for the future do precisely what they will.

That Lord Tennyson has realized that his portrait will be commented on seems doubtful. A curious feature of this biography—a feature of which the reader only gradually becomes cognizant—is its remoteness of impression. Nothing is here that is not very old or belonging to a world that flourished long ago. I think it will be discovered, if we examine the book carefully, that no person under sixty years of age has been asked to contribute any recollections or experiences; the solitary exception consisting in a few excellent paragraphs by Mr. F. W. H. Myers.

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I am far from reproaching Lord Tennyson for this preoccupation with the elderly. The middle-aged and the young have plenty of time before them to preserve for us their memories of the poet. It was important to secure the reminiscences of those who were passing away, and, in fact, since 1892 quite a large proportion of these—Lord Selborne, Tyndall, Locker, Froude, Jowett—have passed away. But there is no question that this absolute boycotting of the less ancient voices gives to the book a curious caducity, a sense of stirring the dust among yellowing papers, in the recesses of an ancient desk that smells of *pot-pourri*. I observe with surprise the omission of certain names. Other readers will doubtless notice other *lacunæ* that appeal to them; in particular, the almost total lack of reference to America, in which enthusiasm for Tennyson began so early and was so warmly sustained, will, I am afraid, cause a disappointment which I cannot think unreasonable. For all these things, one excuse lies ready to Lord Tennyson's hand—the mass of his material was overwhelming.

In short, the figure of the biographer will in all probability be deemed somewhat unsympathetic, and his tone not unfrequently be resented. His approach, I admit, might be more urbane. But I am not inclined to cavil at the spirit in which he writes; this is a case in which a little arrogance is more than pardonable. Lord Tennyson is not a writer by profession, and although the picturesqueness of some of his narrative does great credit to the clearness of his eye, from him must not be expected the graces of the finished literary artist. But his roughness is not unpleasing to me; I respect, and I almost admire it. It is the growl of the watch-dog guarding his Master in his sleep. Or, to change the simile, it is the artisan throwing open the doors of a monument which has at last been completed. The public may look at it or may refrain. But he knows that there is something there, for which he himself claims no credit, which will be the object of impassioned curiosity as long as the English language endures. And he is justified in so believing.

EDMUND GOSSE.

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THE COMMERCIAL VALUE OF THE SHIPYARD

BY LEWIS NIXON.

In a previous paper I discussed the shipyard as the foundation of sea power in the warlike sense, and as an indispensable element of national offence and defence, having in view primarily its military value. I now propose to exhibit its relation to the arts of peace, and to demonstrate that its effectiveness is indispensable to national profit and prosperity, having in view primarily its commercial value. I shall draw my deductions largely from the history of the greatest of commercial sea powers as I did in the former paper from the history of the greatest of military sea powers; bearing in mind that the two must necessarily be one, and that the ulterior object of military command of the sea is always the control or monopoly of ocean-borne commerce.

The words "supremacy on the ocean," as commonly used and popularly understood, describe merely predominant naval power or force. With this thought the average conception of the scope and significance of sea power stops, its ulterior effects upon commerce, industry, and finance, and the subtle, noiseless processes by which it produces those effects remaining a sealed book to the general perception. So occult, indeed, are the processes by which the influence of sea power is brought to bear upon commerce, industry, and finance, that in order to trace them accurately or clearly it is necessary to begin with analysis of the development of sea power itself.

The indisputable predominance of England in the commerce, industry, and finance of the globe is the result of about a century and a half of national endeavor. The existence of the British marine dates much farther back than that, but the systematic effort of England to dominate the ocean may be dated at the beginning of the old French war, in 1755.

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That war was the first ever waged exclusively for territory and commerce; the first European war without dynastic causes or objects. Its results were, territorially, the expulsion of French power from North America, and the reduction of French pretensions in India to the possession, by sufferance, of two trading posts; and, commercially, the practical destruction of every other merchant marine that had been seriously competing with the English. England then, for the first time, applied sea power directly and avowedly to the objects of aggrandizement on the land and expansion of carrying trade on the ocean. It made her supreme in North America, laid broad and deep the foundations of her empire in India, and converted the Atlantic and Indian oceans into English waterways!

This "old French war," the first of the series of great wars for territorial aggrandizement and commercial expansion, inaugurated an epoch of war, broken only by short intervals of armed truce or fitful peace, which lasted for sixty years—from 1755 to 1815. The analogy of purpose and the coincidence of result are clearly traceable through this period from Wolfe at Quebec to Wellington at Waterloo, and from Hawke in Quiberon Bay to Nelson at Trafalgar. That is to say, during these sixty years, and without serious check by even so tremendous an event as the successful revolt of her American colonies, England was fighting everybody, from France singly to the world in arms, for the one object of sea domination. And she gained it.

The visible results, far more important in the money sense than territorial empire, are a control of the world's carrying trade that compels every people who have anything to sell or buy to pay toll to her on her own terms; a master-voice in every international question or controversy; a dictatorship of values and an arbitership of exchanges the globe over. These results are the product of the genius of a race exerted through generations of men; the trophy of the prowess of a people exhibited through centuries and the fruit of a national wisdom unparalleled in the annals of mankind.

Having surveyed from the external point of view the processes which ended in England's victory over all rivals on the sea, we may consider the material conditions under which it was achieved and the mechanical obstacles in the face of which it was won.

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England gained the empire of the ocean in the days of "wooden walls." The ships that she did it with were, without exception, either built in her own shipyards or captured from her enemies. But, of the principal shipbuilding materials which she needed, her own soil produced in 1794 less than one-third and in 1815 less than one-eighth. One of the most eminent historians of British naval architecture says that two of the newer 74-gun ships which fought at Trafalgar, "though built at Chatham and Deptford respectively, had hardly a stick of English timber in them, and, in fact, about the only English product they used was the iron of which their guns and cannon-balls were made!"

At no time after the middle of the eighteenth century did England produce ship timber enough to maintain the material of her navy and merchant marine. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the home supply was practically exhausted. But England bought no ships. She bought ship timber everywhere, carried it to English shipyards, and with it still built her own ships. In the most critical period of her greatest struggle, and at the extreme of her poverty in ship timber, she not only bought no foreign-built ships for her navy, but threw every conceivable obstacle in the way of the purchase of foreign-built ships by her private merchants, and prohibited the East India Company, over which the government had certain control, from buying or using foreign-built ships at all.

Early in the nineteenth century this policy became extremely oppressive to British shipowners and taxpayers. Merchants became tired of paying at the rate of $90 per ton for English-built ships made of imported timber, when they could buy American-built ships of equal or better quality for $50 to $55 per ton. So utterly was England dependent upon other countries for ship timber that vessels were constructed expressly for carrying it. This state of things caused efforts on the part of shipowners to secure legislation that would remove the vexatious restrictions and oppressive obstacles imposed upon purchased ships of foreign build. These efforts availed nothing. The determined policy of England was an unalterable resolve to maintain home shipbuilding at all hazards and at any cost.

The statesmen of England clearly perceived that, while the monopoly of ocean commerce for which they were fighting the

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world at large must rest on sea power, the sea power itself must rest on home shipbuilding. From this clear view they were not to be led away, and from their steadfast policy they were not to be diverted by any mystic theories or by any transcendental doctrines. They cared not where the trees might grow, or what it might cost to bring their timber to British shipyards. Whatever the origin or the expense of the raw material, the ships must be built in England. In the darkest hours, and in the direst straits, England clung doggedly to her traditional policy, inflicting upon her shipowners and her taxpayers enormous burdens in the cost of home-built ships from imported timber, and grimly frowning upon the purchase of cheaper ships of foreign build.

It might be interesting but it would not be profitable to speculate as to how long English shipbuilding, and with it the foundation of her sea power, could have withstood this distressing strain. Suffice it to say that there were no symptoms of approach to the breaking point, when, in the first part of the last half of this century, England abandoned wood and adopted iron as the prime material of shipbuilding. This change at once altered England's status from that of a total non-producer of shipbuilding material in wood to that of the foremost producer of it in iron, and thereby at once transformed her condition from that of extreme difficulty to that of extreme advantage.

But the change from wood to iron was only one among a number of events highly favorable to the expansion of England's sea power which took place about the same time. The United States, which at that time was her most formidable competitor in ocean traffic, became involved in civil strife, which not only diverted all our resources of sea power from commerce to warfare, but also, either by capture or by transfer to neutral flags to avoid capture, practically destroyed our merchant fleet.

On the termination of the civil strife an era of vast internal improvement set in, and the energy, ambition, and capital of the whole American nation was absorbed in railway development to the exclusion of almost all other objects. These conditions lasted about a quarter of a century without interruption. In the meantime England was exerting every energy, employing every resource and directing every ambition to the extension of her commercial sea power in all its components. In other words, while the United States was developing a great and perfect sys-

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tem of land transportation throughout a part of one continent, England was developing a great and perfect system of sea transportation throughout the globe, pre-empting all seas and laying all continents under contribution. The comparative importance of the results is in the ratio of the relative extent of the respective fields of enterprise. Our internal development on the land, though vast, is limited geographically, and its possible expansion, therefore, has boundaries. England's external development on the sea is not limited and has no boundaries. Our internal development earns its profit from our own people. England's external development earns its profit from all peoples.

Necessarily, the revenues of such an empire must be the receipts of the traffic of which it is the thoroughfare. England not only controls the thoroughfare, but she owns the vehicles by means of which its traffic is conducted. Or if any other nation owns a few of such vehicles, England builds them, with exceptions too trifling for serious consideration in such a vast sum total.

The land part of the British Empire, though it embraces a considerable fraction of the habitable surface of the earth and more than one-fifth of the human race, need not be separately considered in this survey. The British Islands are, in brief, the workshop and arsenal of the Empire—its fortress or *place d'armes*, unassailable and impregnable in any military sense. But, in the commercial and financial sense, those parts of the land surface of the globe which England governs directly are no worse off than those which maintain governments of their own. The jurisdiction and power of all alike cease three miles from their shores, and England's sea power at that point bounds them all.

In my former paper I stated that British ships now carry more than seven-tenths of the ocean-borne commerce of the world. The earnings of her commercial fleet, including the accessories of banking, insurance, and commission, exceed eight hundred millions of dollars a year, net cash. Of this the United States contributes, roundly, three hundred millions annually, or an amount equal to about three-fifths of our national revenue.

Some economists argue that this is all right because we get "value received" in the transport of our exports and imports. This fallacy is at once exploded by the well-known commercial

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fact that the cargo pays the freight as absolutely as the passenger pays his passage; and, therefore, the entire increment being foreign, the effect upon us is a continuous drain or outgo of money both ways. There is, however, a simpler mode of stating the problem. If our commerce, which is now carried in English ships, were carried in American ships, the money now paid to English owners would be paid to American owners. It would, therefore, stay in the country as part of its earned increment, instead of going out of the country to swell the earned increment of England.

Let us see what this means as an aggregate. In 1867 we were paying England at the rate of $112,000,000 a year for carrying our ocean commerce. In 1896 we paid her $300,000,000. The increase during the thirty years has been steady, and the average is a little over $200,000,000 a year. That is to say, in the thirty years six billions of dollars have passed from American to English hands for ocean tolls and passages; a net tax levied on the products of our country that we sell, and on the products of other countries that we buy.

From this tax there is no escape so long as we employ English ships to carry our commerce. We do not get this money back by sale of our products to England. What we get for those products is the English market price less the freight and accessory charges. That deduction is the profit of the English common carrier and goes into the volume of his accumulated wealth. We cannot get any of it except by borrowing. The money that English bankers have loaned us to build our railways with is the money that we have paid to English shipowners for carrying our over-sea freight and passengers.

Thus, even in our internal development itself, the consequences of England's commercial and financial sea power are felt none the less potently because indirectly applied. Our internal development in railways during the last third of this century far outstripped the conditions of natural growth or normal expansion, and it was necessarily prosecuted to a very great extent upon borrowed capital. The railroad building generation of the epoch under consideration mortgaged not only its own earnings but those of remote posterity to the extent of about five billions of dollars of bonded debt, and for more than seven-tenths of this amount England was the mortgagee. In other words, England

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invested some of the tribute which her commercial sea power had wrung from mankind in bonds of our railway systems, the ultimate effect of which must inevitably be ownership by foreclosure.

The wrecking and reorganization of railroad companies now going on, always on the basis of bonded debt held mainly in England, indicate that in this respect she is not postponing her claim to the pound of flesh. Every well-informed man knows that every "reorganization" of an American railroad means, in plain language, the transfer of actual possession and working control from the American mortgagor to the English mortgagee. It is thus clearly apparent that England has begun to use the resources derived from her monopoly of our ocean-borne commerce toward the acquisition of a similar monopoly of our land transport. That the result in the latter case will ultimately be as complete as it already is in the former, if the processes are left to operate unchecked, cannot be disputed.

The foregoing survey brings our theme down to the beginning of another epoch, which is the current one. For convenience this epoch may be said to have begun about the year 1890. Up to that time there had been no material challenge to England's sea power in the commercial aspect since the blighting of our ocean traffic in 1861 and 1862. But two small specks now appeared on the horizon of England's commercial omnipotence at sea. These were Germany and the United States. Both began to augment their navies and inaugurated policies for the extension of their ocean commerce. And the fact which, above all, appeared sinister to England was that both proposed to build the necessary ships themselves. If Germany and the United States had gone to England for their ships, their aspirations toward sea power would have been tolerated, because England would still have kept her grip upon the throttle valve. But the spectacle of any other country aspiring not only to own but also to build modern ships was unendurable. The alarm was sounded, and during, say, six years following the sound of alarm, England, with a zeal that seems feverish, if not frantic, has poured out new merchant construction at a rate culminating in last year's product of 1,400,000 tons; and not only that, but she forced this new fleet into a freight and passenger market already glutted with tonnage.

We have now seen what the sea power of England is, and what she has paid for it; we have also seen what it means to her

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commercially and financially, and what she seems willing to stake on its perpetuity. We have next to consider our own relation in the premises.

There is no question as to the growing restiveness of the better informed and more thoughtful part of the American public under existing conditions—conditions which involve the disappearance of our merchant flag from the ocean; the payment to England's shipowners of an annual toll for carrying our freight and passengers equal to three-fifths of our yearly national revenue; the rapid and, in the patriotic sense, alarming growth of English influence in our affairs of finance and of trade. But restiveness under the conditions is one thing, and escape from them is another. At best, our attitude towards sea power, both naval and commercial, is that of aspiration. England's attitude is that of possession.

It must be admitted, however, that even this aspiration, up to date, is sentimental rather than practical, so far as the general American public is concerned. Almost every American who travels abroad regrets, or is ashamed of, the absence of our flag from the commercial ports he visits. But he only misses the flag, which his instinct of patriotism impels him to wish he could see. He does not as a rule reflect that the absence of that flag means in money a yearly tribute of $300,000,000 to England! It does not occur to him that if he could see that flag everywhere he goes, it would mean that $300,000,000 every year is staying in American pockets instead of being, as it is, drained every year from ours into English pockets. He does not even realize that his own travel involves the transfer of American money to English pockets. He has not studied the economics of the matter enough to realize that the most portentous fact of our time is that the moment the gang-plank is cleared away, he, an American citizen, becomes a British taxpayer; that, the moment the ship in which he is a passenger crosses the limit of the marine league from any shore, he becomes a British subject, living on British soil and amenable to British laws.

I do not by any means intimate that this is necessarily an evil destiny. On the contrary, as things are now, and as things will be until the American people wake up, it is better for a traveller, American or otherwise, to be temporarily a British taxpayer and British subject on the British soil of a British deck on

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any ocean outside the marine league from any shore than to be on any other deck; because, American or otherwise, any traveller, under such conditions is always sure of every protection to life and property anywhere on the habitable globe that omnipresent and omnipotent sea power can give; and even if he suffers in remote lands, he can at least have the satisfaction of knowing that the retaliatory vengeance of British sea power upon his tormentors will be swift and terrible as soon as a British man-of-war can reach them! It seems to me that such a picture needs no more color. And yet at this moment it is only a true picture of British sea power, without the least tint of flattery, so far as its scope and reach of commercial and warlike ascendency are concerned.

This is the actual state of things which the nascent American aspiration toward commercial status on the ocean must now face. It is a state of things which oratorical gush, platitudinous "planks" in party "platforms" and Yankee Doodle generally cannot touch at all! It is an actual, palpable, tangible thing that can be met only by another thing equally actual, palpable, tangible. Meantime the $300,000,000 of American money goes into the pockets of English shipowners every year, and will continue to go there, and more along with it each succeeding year, until we stop relying on gush, planks in party platforms and Yankee Doodle generally, and substitute for them a practical, consistent, consecutive and inflexible standard of national policy and practice, with respect to the status of the United States on the high seas.

I have said that the American bases his aspirations to commercial sea power on sentiment, and have explained how even that sentiment itself is limited to travellers. But the average American does not travel. He has in these times all he can do to stay at home—or, perhaps to keep a home to stay at. If he is a Dakota wheat farmer, he declaims against the American railroads which charge more than he gets at the nearest station for his wheat for its transport to the seaboard. This makes him angry and impels him to meditate all sorts of vengeance against the American railroads. But he never perceives that, when the American railroad has done with his wheat, it is only half way to its market, the market that regulates the price. He never realizes that, after he has paid the tribute of transport to the Ameri-

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can railroad, with money that stays in this country, and some of which gets back to him through other channels, he must still pay another tribute to some English shipowner, which goes out of this country forever as an earning, and can never be brought back unless it is borrowed; and that it can be borrowed only on the security of what is commonly termed out West a cut-throat mortgage!

Such is the established order of things at this time. It is a definite situation based upon fundamental facts. Theories cannot cure it, nor can doctrine mitigate its evils. After all theory is exhausted, and all doctrine exploded, the perennial drain of $300,000,000 or more every year remains an incontrovertible fact.

The practical question, therefore, to be solved is: How may we alter the situation for the better?

This can be accomplished only by adopting a course of action which will result in the retention of the $300,000,000 or more among ourselves. That cannot be done at once. It can only be done by degrees. It cannot be done without material change in the trend of American thought and substantial alteration of the tendency of American endeavor. We must turn our gaze, fixed for a generation upon the land, toward the sea, and we must keep it there; for the land offers to our enterprise no more triumphs worthy of our national genius, certainly none commensurate with our pent-up national energies.

It is hardly enough to say that the maritime spirit is dormant among us. In the practical, commercial sense it has ceased to exist. With only exceptions enough to prove the rule, American enterprise in these days shrinks from the sea and American capital shuns ships. Any scheme however visionary can find promoters and any project however chimerical can find capital, so long as it is on the land. But hardly any scheme however businesslike, or any project however practical, can now enlist American enterprise or attract American capital if it involves salt water.

If you ask a capitalist, known to be prudent and sagacious, to join in a scheme involving ships and looking to the carrying trade of the ocean, he will decline, on the ground that under existing conditions American ships in foreign trade are not profitable property. If asked why this is so, he will say it is because of

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the greater cost of operating American ships, ton for ton, as compared with their English competitors. This brings us at once to the root of the difficulty. The comparative first cost of the ships themselves is not worth consideration as an element in the sum total of difference. The real, effective obstacle is in the greater operating cost, and this is due wholly to the higher wages and costlier subsistence of American as compared with any and all foreign seafaring labor. But this obstacle, though serious and stubborn, is not insurmountable. No one will suggest reduction of the American standard of seafaring wages and subsistence to the foreign plane. Certainly the foreign standard will never be elevated to the American plane. The obstacle must, therefore, be met and overcome by other methods.

These methods are not to be found in the purchase of foreign-built ships; because, after such ships were acquired, the disparity in operating cost, all other conditions remaining as they are, would quickly drive them to a permanent anchorage. They are not to be found wholly in subsidies, bounties, or other direct or measured aid from the state. Neither can they be found completely effective in differential or discriminating duties, because the operation of such laws would affect unequally different classes of ships in different channels of trade. The causes of the evil lie too deep and their effects are too widely spread to admit of cure by any single remedy. Above all, the problem, as a whole, is so vast, and the difficulties to be overcome are so various, that nothing short of the wisest policy, the most persistent endeavor, and the most inflexible fortitude of the American people, as a whole, exerted through a long period of time, can solve the one or remove the other.

We must, therefore, begin at the beginning, which means that the maritime spirit must be revived, the aspiration for achievements beyond our own shores must be quickened, the ambition to see our commercial flag in foreign ports, which is now merely a sentiment of travellers, must become the practical impulse of merchants. The desire to see the flag abroad must be not merely a feeling of patriotic pride, but it must become an instinct of trade.

No such change in popular aspiration can be brought about quickly. It must be a growth. That it will come is not doubtful. Whenever the tremendous forces of American public

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thought, public aspiration, and public zeal for the common welfare begin to move in unison toward the sea, then, and not till then, shall we begin to carry our own commerce; then only shall we begin denying to England her tribute of three hundred millions a year.

I have already shown that the foundation of the colossal structure of England's ocean commerce is the English shipyard. I have pointed out also that the English shipyard can never be the foundation of an American ocean commerce. That must rest on the American shipyard.

It has been shown that England, under the direst distress for raw material, never dreamed of resting her sea power on foreign shipyards; that she drew her timber from foreign forests, her hemp from foreign fields, the cotton for her sails from foreign plantations, and her tar and resin from foreign pine woods; but she never drew a ship from a foreign shipyard except by capture in war! Even now she imports nearly all the ore used in making the mild steel of which her modern ships and engines are built.

But we need import no raw material. If the genius of our country should demand ships, we could build in a few years a fleet equal to England's in extent and superior to it in quality, without importing a pound of raw material; we could found a new commercial sea power wholly on the resources of our own domain. Therefore, situated and endowed as we are, the American shipyard is to any possible American marine of the future what the soil is to bread. The fertility is here; it only remains to sow the seed.

In that fact lies the significance of the legend which forms the title of this paper. It may—in fact it must—be taken for granted that the tribute of three hundred millions a year which we now pay to England through English shipowners, cannot go on forever. It must stop some time. It will stop whenever, through the usual channels of disseminating popular knowledge, a clear understanding of the state of things shall have been impressed upon the American people; whenever they shall have come to comprehend the relation of commercial seapower to the sum-total of their national prosperity; whenever they shall have gained a practical conception of the relations which now exist between the American producer or consumer and the English common-carrier.

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Just how long it will take the mental processes of the American public to reach these perceptions cannot now be judged. But progress in that direction is apparent. Already many men to whom their neighbors look for guidance have perceived that so long as the English octopus has a tentacle fastened to every one of our seaports, sucking our financial life-blood, so long will legislation on tariffs and currencies be as futile to remedy the prevailing ills as tonics would to build up the system of a patient slowly bleeding to death from an opened artery!

Such a trend of thought and perception never recedes. It always advances. So, there is reason to believe that the time is not remote when ocean commerce will again engage the energies, stimulate the ambitions and attract the capital of Americans, as it did in the days of our intrepid grandfathers; when the desire to see our commercial flag in foreign ports will be not merely the patriotic sentiment of an occasional traveller, but an instinct of trade pervading a mighty nation. Then there will be an American merchant marine, and it will be erected upon the foundation of the American shipyard. Then will the American people realize, as the English people now do, the shipyard's commercial value.

LEWIS NIXON.

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EFFECT OF THE NEW GOLD UPON PRICES.

BY CHARLES A. CONANT.

ONE of the most fascinating problems of economic science connected with the great gold and silver discoveries of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries has been the effect of the new metal upon prices. The quantitative theory of money has been much called in question in recent years, but it was accepted almost religiously by many of the economists who wrote at the time of the great Californian and Australian discoveries. According to this theory, in its crudest form, prices were bound to advance in just the proportion which the new supplies of the precious metals bore to those already in existence. While this did not occur in any case, the changes in prices were sufficiently radical after the opening of the American mines in the sixteenth century to justify the opinion that they were due chiefly to the increase in the supply of gold and silver, and they were sufficient after the Californian and Australian discoveries to establish a reasonable probability that they were due in part to the same cause. It is an interesting question whether in our own time another revolution in nominal values is to be accomplished by the infusion of a great mass of new gold into the currency systems of the world.

It will be useful to lay the groundwork for an answer to this question by reviewing the history of previous great additions to the supply of metallic money and their supposed effect upon prices. The supply of the precious metals in the western world, both gold and silver, was greatly reduced during the barbaric ages by abrasion, the loss of hidden treasure, and the export of the metals to the East. The art of mining, by the separation of the precious metals from the ores and from the inferior metals with which they were mingled, was lost with the decline of the

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Roman Empire; and, according to Mr. Jacob, a high authority on the subject, there was a decline in the visible supply of precious metals available for use as money from £358,000,000 ($1,750,000,000) in 14 A. D., to £34,000,000 ($170,000,000) at the time of the discovery of America, in the year 1492.

Treasures of gold and silver were found almost as soon as America was discovered, but they were trifling in amount until 1545, when the silver mines of Cerro de Potosi were opened. Even this event did not increase the supply of the precious metals at a rate exceeding £2,100,000 ($10,000,000) annually, according to Mr. Jacob, but this was an increase of about six per cent. a year upon the scanty stock existing in 1492. The seventeenth century witnessed a farther increase in the annual supplies of the precious metals, chiefly by the opening of mines in Brazil, and the annual average production during that period is reckoned at £3,375,000 ($16,500,000).

Mr. Jacob made elaborate calculations for abrasion and export to the East, which were entirely too high, but as all the figures are estimates, it is not worth while to modify Mr. Jacob's computation that £297,000,000 ($1,450,000,000) of gold and silver remained in the western world at the end of the seventeenth century (1699) for monetary uses. The mines of Mexico became productive in the eighteenth century, and the visible monetary stock of the precious metals, in 1810, with deductions for losses and other uses than coin, amounted, according to Mr. Jacob, to £380,000,000 ($1,850,000,000). This is a little less than one-quarter of the visible stock of metallic money existing in the world to-day.

Before dealing with the discoveries of the fifth decade of the present century, it will be well to investigate the effect upon prices of the infusion of new gold and silver into the scantily-fed channels of circulation of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Spain was the first of European countries to feel the force of the new gold and silver, since it was mostly taken from her colonial mines and shipped to the government or to Spanish merchants at home. "In the chief towns of Spain," according to Mr. Cliffe Leslie, "prices seem to have risen even before the fifteenth century had closed." The influence of increased prices was not felt in England, according to Adam Smith, until about 1570. From that year until 1640 silver sank so rapidly in

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purchasing power that corn rose in cost from about two ounces of silver per quarter to six or eight ounces. Fixed incomes shrank seventy-five per cent. in their power of purchasing the means of living, and pauperism spread rapidly in England on that account. "Nor is it improbable," says Mr. L. L. Price, "that the difficulties of Charles the First, and the eventful quarrel which followed, were partly due to the increased expenditure of the Court necessarily occasioned by the rise of prices." Mr. Hume computed that prices of all things had risen three or four times since the discovery of the West Indies, and Mr. Jacob computed the increase at the ratio of 470 to 100.

The early part of the nineteenth century was marked by an arrest in the increase of the supply of the precious metals. There was a considerable improvement in production after 1830, which by 1848 was sufficient to supply losses and afford a slight increase in the stock of metallic money. The entire production of gold from 1493 to 1850 was calculated by Professor Sootbeer at 4,752,070 kilograms, representing a value of about $3,168,047,000, while the production of silver was calculated at 149,826,750 kilograms, representing a value of about $6,292,723,000.

Upon these conditions came the great discoveries of gold in California and Australia. The production of gold rose at a leap from an annual average of $13,484,000, in the decade ending with 1840, to $36,393,000, for the decade ending with 1850, and to $132,513,000 for the five years ending with 1855. The yield of gold did not fall much below these figures until the fifteen years ending with 1885, when the annual average was only about $110,000,000. The production did not again show radical changes until after 1890, when a new era of progress set in as the result of the great gold production of the Witwatersrand region of South Africa. The effect of the Californian and Australian discoveries upon prices was spent before 1870, and the results of the South African discoveries belong to a later era.

We are now dealing with gold alone, and it was in gold that the great increase in production took place prior to 1870. As there is not occasion here to discuss the bimetallic problem, it will not detract essentially from the force of comparisons if the entire amount of metallic money computed by Mr. Jacob as existing in 1830—$1,500,000,000—is considered as consisting of gold,

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although in fact silver was then the preferred metal in the monetary systems of leading Continental states. The product of a single year from the Californian and Australian mines added eight per cent. in gold to this existing supply, if no deductions are made for losses. Ten years ending with 1860 added $1,332,981,000 to the production of gold, and another period of ten years swelled this amount by another sum of $1,263,115,000. The most liberal deductions for use in the arts, for abrasion, and for export to the East, could not fail to leave in this enormous mass of gold a potent influence upon monetary conditions.

If the quantitative theory of money—that prices move upward and downward in direct relation with the supply of monetary signs—had operated with rigorous exactness, prices must again have doubled or trebled under the influence of the wonderful outpouring of the Californian and Australian mines. Many of the classical political economists anticipated exactly this result. Chevalier recommended that France take energetic measures to preserve her credit by reducing the legal value of her existing gold coins, and firmly adhering to the silver standard. Several other countries seriously contemplated relegating gold to a subordinate place and making silver the single standard of value because it was less subject to fluctuation. Mr. W. Stanley Jevons, the eminent English economist, wrote a paper, as late as 1863, in which he predicted that the depreciation in the purchasing power of gold would cause a rise in prices of from 40 to 50 per cent.

That some rise in prices actually occurred hardly admits of dispute, and it may perhaps be attributed to the infusion of gold into the circulation, because it ran counter to the almost universal downward tendency of prices caused by improved methods of production and the increased efficiency of labor. The moderate character of this increase may be judged, however, from the fact that when Chevalier wrote (in 1857) silver was at a premium of only four per cent. in Paris. In England Mr. Jevons, by a careful comparison of averages and index prices, reached the conclusion that the rise of prices attributable in a general way to the increase in the gold supply was between 6.76 and 16.2 per cent., and averaged about 10.25 per cent.

Definite calculations regarding the yield of the Klondike region cannot yet be obtained. There is no reason, however, to

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doubt that it will prove nearly as productive as the Californian and Australian mines a generation ago, and the South African mines which were opened about a decade ago. None of these sources of supply has shown serious signs of exhaustion, and the Ural Mountains, where the mines have been open for two generations or more, still contribute largely to the annual gold supply of the world. Only a few million dollars have thus far been actually delivered at the mints and assay offices of the United States from the new mining regions of the far North; but the amount brought in is large in view of the fact that it consists of nothing but the placer washings, and that there are only three months of the season in which it is possible for the washings to take place.

The supply of gold was already increasing rapidly in recent years, in advance of the discovery of the Klondike supplies. The official figures of Mr. Robert E. Preston, the Director of the Mint of the United States, show a gold production throughout the world of $118,848,700 for the calendar year 1890, $130,650,000 for 1891, $146,651,500 for 1892, $157,494,800 for 1893, $181,567,800 for 1894, $200,406,000 for 1895, and $206,000,000 for 1896; and trustworthy estimates place the amount for 1897 at $240,000,000. The aggregate production, from the discovery of America to the close of 1896, is computed by the Director of the Mint at about $9,000,000,000. Of this amount, something over $3,000,000,000 had been mined before 1850. Only a portion of the entire production has been devoted to monetary uses, and much has been lost. The gold currencies of the world, including bullion used for monetary purposes, were computed by the Director of the Mint in 1896 at $4,359,600,000.

Several important questions have to be answered before an intelligent opinion can be formed as to whether the new gold supplies will have any visible effect upon prices, and what that effect, if any, will be. These questions may be formulated thus:

1. What proportion will the new gold supplies bear to the existing stock and to previous additions to the supply?

2. What portion of the annual gold supply will be devoted to monetary uses?

3. Will there be a demand for the new monetary gold from countries other than those now having a gold currency?

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4. Does an increase in the supply of monetary gold in a gold standard country necessarily affect the prices of commodities?

I. With a gold production for 1897 estimated at $240,000,000, it is evident that the new goldfields will have to prove exceptionally productive in order to add a great percentage to the world's annual supply of gold. If they should yield $60,000,000 per year, carrying the total annual production to $300,000,000, they would still be adding only 25 per cent. to the previous annual increase. The effect of new supplies of the precious metals is greatly restricted by the fact that the additions have to be set against the whole mass already in existence. An addition of 25 per cent. to the annual production of wheat or corn, or even of more permanent industrial products, like iron or copper, would have a marked effect upon prices. Gold is undoubtedly influenced, like all other articles, by the law of supply and demand, but the supply in any one year is only a small addition to the amount already in the market. All the gold of the world used as coin or bullion in monetary exchanges is constantly in the world's money market, capable of being purchased by commodities directly or by slight premiums in rates of exchange.

It has been shown that the visible stock of monetary gold existing in the world to-day is about $4,360,000,000. Reasons will soon be given for thinking that another sum of $1,000,000,000 is concealed in private hoards. The mathematical elements of the problem, therefore, are: An aggregate gold production within historic times of $9,000,000,000; a visible supply of gold in use as money of $4,360,000,000; and a possible annual increase of the supply from $240,000,000 in 1897 to $300,000,000 in future years.

II. The second question—what portion of the new gold will be devoted to monetary uses—suggests the interesting inquiry, what has become of the difference between the whole amount of gold produced and the amount now visible in coin and bullion? The amount to be accounted for is $4,800,000,000, and represents more than half of the gold which has been produced since 1492. There are three channels through which this difference has been absorbed, which may be briefly treated thus:

Abrasion.—The loss from this cause is much less than is commonly supposed. Mr. Jacob put the abrasion of coins, in-

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cluding losses at sea and from other causes, at 10 per cent. in thirty-six years. This is altogether excessive. The loss by abrasion has been several times carefully calculated by the authorities of the British and Continental mints, and has been found to amount to an average of about one-half of one per cent. in a century. This means a loss of five per cent. in 1,000 years, or about two per cent. in 400 years. If the entire mass of gold mined since the discovery of America had been in use in 1492, the loss by abrasion up to 1892 would have been about $180,000,000. But nearly two-thirds of the world's gold production has been mined since 1850 and cannot have suffered abrasion for a longer period than forty years. This would afford a loss of about two-tenths of one per cent., or $11,600,000 for the entire period.

Exportation to the East.—India, China, and other countries of the Orient have been great absorbers of the precious metals since they began to contribute their silks, teas, and other articles to Western consumption. Even during the Middle Ages the overland traffic absorbed great quantities of Western gold and silver, and made India, in the graphic language of historical writers, "a sink of the precious metals." The semi-civilized state of those countries makes gold the most highly prized form of wealth, because it can be most conveniently concealed when civil war, robbery, and excessive taxation threaten the confiscation of visible property. The statistics of the shipments of gold to India from 1836 to the close of the fiscal year ending March 31, 1896, show net imports of $713,269,550. The figures for silver show net imports of $1,825,000,000. These figures afford only a partial idea of the quantity of the precious metals which have gone to the East within the past four centuries. It would probably be far within the limits of moderation to put at $1,000,000,000 the amount of the world's gold which has gone to the Orient.

Use in the Arts.—This is a very considerable channel for the employment of gold, and has absorbed a large proportion of the sum of $4,800,000,000, which is not available for monetary uses. Professor Sootbeer estimated the consumption of gold alone in 1885 at about $60,000,000, while the present consumption is estimated by the Director of the Mint at about $65,000,000. A rate of consumption like this, if extended backwards, would eat up the gold supply very rapidly, absorbing $650,000,000 in ten

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years, and nearly $2,000,000,000 in a generation. This rate is, of course, not admissible except for the last few years, and may be exaggerated by the inclusion of old gold which is remelted.

The estimate of the consumption of gold in the arts is surrounded with some difficulties, in view of the large amount available for this purpose after monetary uses and the Eastern demand are deducted. The difficulty does not lie so much with the annual consumption as with the excessive amount existing in the world in this form, if the other estimates are correct. The deduction of $4,300,000,000 in monetary gold and $1,000,000,000 in gold locked up in India and the East leaves about $3,800,000,000 for other uses. The population of the civilized countries, mostly having gold in their currencies, is less than 900,000,000. The supply of gold, therefore, for non-monetary uses is more than $4 per capita, which amounts to $20 for a family of five. It is difficult to believe that this proportion of non-monetary gold exists on the average among the rich and poor throughout the world. A more reasonable hypothesis is that the gold in the form of coin and bullion which is officially reported as available for monetary uses includes only that which is visible in the circulation and in bank reserves. Great sums, which can only be guessed at, are undoubtedly concealed in private hoards in such countries as South and Central America, where the official returns give $40,000,000 and $500,000 respectively of monetary gold. If this concealed monetary gold amounted throughout the world to $1,000,000,000, it would reduce the gold employed in the arts to $2,800,000,000, or about $15 to every family in the civilized world.

In dealing with the annual supply of new gold, account has to be taken of the annual deductions for the arts and for export to the East. The sum of $20,000,000 may be assumed for convenience as the annual loss to the Western world by gold exports to the East. If $65,000,000 goes into the arts, $85,000,000 has to be deducted from the production of the year in order to ascertain the amount of gold available for monetary uses. Upon the basis of the production of $240,000,000 expected during the current year, $155,000,000 will be available for addition to the world's money supply. If the new gold regions increase the world's production to $300,000,000, the amount left available for monetary uses will rise to $215,000,000. This may fairly be assumed to

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represent the amount of annual increase in the world's supply of gold money for some years to come.

What proportion will this sum of $215,000,000 bear to the accumulated stock of monetary gold? If this stock is already $4,300,000,000, the annual addition of $215,000,000 will amount to exactly five per cent. Ten years would carry this amount to 50 per cent. of the existing supply, but this is only half the rate of increase attained between 1850 and 1870. The additions to the existing stock, moreover, will not come with the suddenness of those which came in the middle of the century, because the annual average increase for a long series of years has been considerably above $100,000,000, of which probably $60,000,000 per year has easily been available for monetary purposes.

III. The question whether the new monetary gold will be largely needed by countries now without a gold currency is being answered almost daily in the affirmative. The Empire of Japan decided in the spring to change from the silver to the gold standard. The Bank of Japan has been carrying a gold reserve of from $25,000,000 to $50,000,000, but will be compelled to greatly increase this amount in order to maintain gold redemption. Mexico seems on the verge of adopting the gold standard, in order to escape the effects of the alarming fluctuations in the value of silver, and her expanding business might require $100,000,000 or $200,000,000 in gold. The government of British India in 1893 suspended the free coinage of silver rupees and endeavored to give them a fixed gold value. Chile, Peru, and Costa Rica have recently adopted the gold standard and need increased supplies of gold.

This is only the beginning of the possible demands for the new gold supplies. Russia and Austria-Hungary have been endeavoring for several years to accumulate a sufficient supply of gold for the resumption of specie payments. Russia holds more than $600,000,000, and Austria-Hungary more than $150,000,000. Both these countries, especially the latter, will be benefited in obtaining gold by the new supplies. They will not find that a much smaller quantity of commodities will have to be rendered up in exchange for the new gold, but they will find premiums lower and other countries bidding a lower interest rate to keep their gold at home. An increase in the world's supplies renders it easier for countries of comparative poverty of resources

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to provide themselves with a gold currency, because they encounter less competition than before, in the form of trifling premiums and adverse exchanges, in retaining their gold.

IV. The last branch of our inquiry—whether prices are affected by an increase in the supply of metallic money—raises an issue of which the discussion has filled volumes. It is a truth familiar to the political economist, which may be noted in passing, that additions to the stock of precious metals, for use purely as money, are not additions to the world's wealth. Trade is in its essence the barter of one article for another. Money, whether of metal or paper, is not an end in itself. It is simply the convenient medium for making barter easy. Additions to the monetary supply simply increase the available equipment of the medium for carrying on exchanges. This may be desirable in some cases and undesirable in others, according to the existing supply of such media. If every portion of the world was adequately supplied to-day with the means of monetary exchanges, it would be possible to echo the lament of Mr. Richard Cobden, in the preface to his translation of Chevalier's work on the fall of gold, regarding an event "the effect of which is, instead of increasing the supply of food, raw material or capital, simply to render more bulky and abundant an instrument of exchange the chief merit of which before consisted in its scarcity and portability."

If there be countries whose medium of exchange is unsatisfactory or insufficient, new supplies of gold may be of great value to them. The countries which are the richest are apt to have the amplest gold currencies—not so much because the gold is wealth as because they can afford to carry capital in this form in addition to all that is required for their machinery of production. It has long been the fashion of political economists to berate the folly of those peoples who failed to maintain a currency interconvertible with gold and silver. Such rebukes are well founded when directed against a prosperous people, but the philosophy of economic history is likely to show that many peoples who have gone without a metallic currency have done so from the same motives which actuate the poor in discarding many of the sound economies of the rich. A considerable increase in the gold supply may mean much to such nations, especially if they are just passing from irredeemable paper to the gold basis. This is the position of several important nations to-day.

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If a great addition to the gold supply could be injected into the currency of a people already provided with an adequate supply of gold for carrying on their exchanges, some rise of prices might occur. The increase in prices, however, would probably be far from commensurate with the relation which the new gold bore to the existing stock. Three conditions would be essential to any visible effect upon prices—that the new stock of gold should be very considerable; that the existing currency should be based chiefly on gold and not on paper credit; and that the new gold should actually enter into the circulation and should not be accumulated in bank reserves or private hoards. If uncovered paper constituted a large element of the circulation, the new gold might simply supersede so much paper without any visible effect upon other conditions. If the new gold was simply added to bank reserves or the holdings of a few individuals, it would have only a speculative effect upon prices and not the automatic proportional effect asserted by the quantitative theory. A demonstration of this proposition occurred in recent history, when great masses of new gold from the Transvaal country poured into Great Britain. A great part of it went into the reserves of the Bank of England, which increased from £19,712,368 upon the average of the last quarter of 1889 to £44,960,056 on January 1, 1896. Here was an increase of $125,000,000, which represents nearly one-quarter of the estimated gold currency of the United Kingdom, without taking account of that portion of the Transvaal gold which might have found lodgment in other hands within the Kingdom. There was some fear that this great accumulation of monetary signs might lead to speculation, but that any direct effect upon prices was produced, by the mere increase in the volume of visible gold, was hardly asserted by the most *naïve* of the advocates of the quantitative theory.

The counters in trade, whether of metal or paper credit, are like freight cars in the handling of a great wheat or cotton crop. A certain number is absolutely required in order to accomplish desired results without delay or embarrassment, no matter how rapidly the means of accomplishing these results are shifted backwards and forwards in the current of transactions. The price of wheat is not regulated by the quantity of freight cars, but it is conceivable that it might appear to be so regulated if the supply

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of cars were inadequate to move the crop and shippers were driven by a state of panic to pay a premium for their use. The charge for cars might in such a case be affected by the law of supply and demand. Gold, silver, and loanable capital are undoubtedly affected by the same great law, but neither the freight cars nor the gold are governed by the rigid proportion of value to quantity which is assigned to changes in the volume of money by the quantitative theory.

The fact that there might be a distinct demand for gold, independent of the quantitative theory, was recognized by Chevalier in the discussion of the possible means for absorbing the Californian and Australian supplies. His range of vision regarding such a demand was, however, limited by the narrow conceptions of his time. He noted the fact that France was absorbing great quantities of gold, but the data were not then complete which might have enabled him to measure fully the character and extent of the movement which was going on. As a matter of fact, France at that time not only exchanged great masses of silver for gold, but the increase in the supply of the precious metals enabled her to fill gaps in her medium of exchange in portions of the country where that medium was insufficient. Much of the new gold went, not to the barren work of duplicating the volume and dividing the value of means of exchange already in existence, but to the more useful object of affording a metallic medium of transactions where neither gold nor paper had before penetrated.

The official figures of the imports and exports of the precious metals during the nineteen years from 1852 to 1870, inclusive, show that France absorbed in net gold imports 5,007,000,000 francs ($1,000,000,000). At the same time her net exports of silver from 1852 to 1864 were 1,726,000,000 francs. The silver exports ceased to exceed the imports during the next six years, when the relation of gold and silver was again oscillating around the legal ratio, and there were net silver imports of 562,000,000 francs. These, added to the great gold imports for nineteen years, and reduced by the net silver exports from 1852 to 1864, showed a net increase in the precious metals in France by the enormous sum of 3,843,000,000 francs ($760,000,000), or a yearly average of 202,000,000 francs ($40,000,000). Several German states felt the force of the golden shower, in spite of some

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differences in their monetary systems, and throughout Europe and America the benefits of a substantial circulating medium, where there had been only an inadequate one, were felt with something of the force attributed to them in France by Prof. J. E. Horn, in his brilliant work, "*La Liberté des Banques:*"

> "In those *arrondissements* and cantons where formerly the bill was a myth and the gold louis a phenomenon, hundreds of thousands of francs and even millions in specie and in bills are now in continuous rotation, promoting a movement of transactions which grow in intensity and extent day by day. They constitute a potent dike against depression and depreciation. The ancient possessor of monetary capital is neither robbed nor defrauded by this increase in the quantity of instruments of circulation, whether the increase consists in real gold or in credit gold. On the contrary, he gains as much by it, more, perhaps, than the general public. The superior activity of exchanges assures to the aggregate of circulating capital employment more fertile, more constant, and, inasmuch as it stimulates production and renders products more abundant and less dear, it even increases the value and the purchasing power of the pre-existing gold."

A similar experience to that of France from 1850 to 1865 is likely to be that of some of the great civilized states to-day. The United States are capable of absorbing many millions of the new gold in giving stability to their currency system and without effect upon prices. They are rapidly reaching the position where they can afford such an investment of capital without impairing their resources of production. Russia and Austria-Hungary, as already pointed out, need to strengthen their equipment of the yellow metal. It is highly probable, moreover, that some of the countries which suspended the free coinage of silver after 1873, and have maintained their silver coins at parity with gold, will take advantage of the new gold supplies for replacing some of their overvalued silver. The sale of silver for gold has been publicly advocated in Belgium, and her financial position and that of the Netherlands would be greatly strengthened by such an exchange. Spain and Italy, now wallowing in the mire of depreciated paper, will resume specie payments upon a gold basis, if they resume at all, for their paper notes are above the bullion value of their silver coins. Throughout the world, indeed, exists a capacity for the absorption of the new gold, which will have no perceptible effect upon prices, but will operate, like the extension of railways and canals, to give ease and rapidity to the courses of production and exchange.

CHARLES A. CONANT.

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THE UNITED STATES AND THE SPANISH AMERICAN COLONIES.

BY M. ROMERO, MEXICAN MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES.

I FEEL under deep obligations to Senator Money for his able article published in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for September, 1897, in answer to one of mine which appeared in the July number, because it gives me the opportunity to dispel certain misunderstandings and set myself right in this case.

But before proceeding further I desire to make a short statement as to how my article originated. Dr. Ricardo Becerra, a very distinguished man of letters from Colombia, South America, who for several years represented his country at Washington, and who is now living at Caracas, Venezuela, wrote recently a biography of General Don Francisco de Miranda, the principal promoter of the independence of the Spanish colonies of South America. I found in Dr. Becerra's book valuable information, that had not come to my knowledge before, about the work done in Europe in the latter part of the eighteenth century by native Americans and Spanish Jesuits, whom the father of the then reigning King of Spain had previously expelled from his dominions in America, to establish the independence of the Spanish colonies on this continent. I found that the promoters of that cause professed to act in behalf of all the Spanish colonies of America, including Mexico, and as I was sure that Mexico had not been represented at the meetings which were held in Europe in the last quarter of the 18th century, I determined to rectify that statement, and with that purpose in view I wrote an article to vindicate the historical truth in regard to that important event in Spanish American history.

When I began to write my paper I found that the course which the United States pursued towards the revolted colonies

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of Spain during their struggle for independence had a close connection with my subject, and about the same time, on January 11, 1897, Senator Hale, of Maine, presented to the Senate a paper entitled "Power to Recognize the Independence of a New State," which was published by order of the Senate, as Senate Document Number 56, Fifty-fourth Congress, Second Session. That paper, which in my opinion had been prepared at the State Department, contained a concise statement of the policy of the United States government towards the Spanish American republics, written especially with a view to support the contention that such recognition is an executive prerogative, and does not rest with Congress, and showing at the same time that the United States has always acted with deliberation in the recognition of belligerent rights or independence of a new foreign state, and complied faithfully with her international obligations, a fact which shows that the policy of the present and the last administration regarding the disturbances in Cuba is in accordance with the precedents established by the fathers of the country at the beginning of the century. I found a great deal of valuable information collected in that paper, which I included in my article.

Reviewing the subject, I also found that the United States had prevented Mexico and Colombia from carrying to Cuba in 1825 the war against Spain, which in all probability might have resulted in the independence of that island, and thinking that that was a pertinent subject, I also mentioned it in my paper.

I entitled my paper "The Origin of Mexican Independence," which I considered an appropriate title, but when I sent it to the editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for publication, he suggested a more comprehensive one, namely, "The United States and the Liberation of the Spanish-American Colonies," and out of deference to his greater knowledge and experience I consented to make the change. This pretentious title caused wider circulation of some passages of the article than would otherwise have been the case, as it was telegraphed all over the country that I had written a paper censuring the United States for not having assisted the Spanish colonies in their war for independence, and for not having permitted Mexico and Colombia to make Cuba independent, when my paper did not contain a word of censure against the United States government, and was only a brief statement of historical facts with quotations from high American

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authorities. I thought that the reason for this misunderstanding was the fact that my paper was not read in its entirety by those who telegraph to us press extracts from the same, but only such extracts from it as were thought to be of importance, and thus its object was misapprehended. I was under the impression that anybody who read carefully the whole text could find nothing improper in it, much less disrespectful, either to the United States or to the Spanish government.

I was, therefore, somewhat surprised to see that a man of Senator Money's great abilities should share such views, and it affords me pleasure to have the opportunity of making clear that my article did not contain a word of censure against the United States of America.

Senator Money regards my statement that "this government did not render any material or moral assistance to the cause of independence of the Spanish-American colonies," as a complaint against the United States and considers my assertion to be incorrect. In stating that fact, far from making any complaint against the policy of this government, I on the contrary defended it, by adding "that the United States government being at peace with Spain, considered that it would be a breach of neutrality to aid the movement for the establishment of independence in her colonies." I think that every nation is in honor bound to comply with her treaty stipulations and with the provisions of the law of nations, and that a state that is zealous in fulfilling such duties deserves a great deal of commendation, especially if, for any reason whatsoever, it be to its interests or coincide with its views to set aside such obligations.

I also stated that Mexico did not expect any aid from the United States for the simple reason that there was no ground to expect it, and that she depended only on the patriotism of her sons. In my opinion, it is rash to inaugurate a movement for independence relying mainly on foreign assistance, for obvious reasons; and especially because such assistance is a contingency which may fail for various causes. Then the whole movement would fall through, and the cause of independence would thereby suffer greatly and be highly discredited.

I am glad to see that Senator Money's views agree with mine in that a nation should comply with her international obligations when he says: "It must be remembered that the

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warning words of Washington in his farewell address against foreign complications were so recent as to have hardly lost their echo, and had, with other causes, induced an exceedingly conservative and cautious foreign policy."

With a view to show that the recognition by the United States was made long after independence had been achieved, I will state briefly when each of the Spanish colonies accomplished its independence.

The independence of South America proper, that is from the Isthmus of Panama to Cape Horn, was accomplished mainly by two great military geniuses, equal to the greatest in the world, assisted, of course, by several very able and distinguished lieutenants. The two great generals were José de San Martin, born in Yapeyú, in 1778, a small town of the Argentine Republic, on the borders of Paraguay, who operated in the southern part of South America, and Simon Bolivar, born in Caracas, the capital of Venezuela, on July 25, 1783, whose field of operations covered the northern portion of that continent. Both belonged to distinguished families of Spanish descent, and both had received a military education in Spain and had served with distinction in the Spanish army, having flown to their country's assistance when they heard that independence had been proclaimed. Bolivar was of an impulsive and reckless disposition, and suffered, therefore, many serious defeats, while San Martin, being a much more cautious man, was never defeated.

Buenos Ayres or the Argentine Republic, as it is now called, had not only practically established her independence in 1813, after the decisive battles of Tucuman, fought on September 24, 1812, and Salta, on February 20, 1813, although she formally declared her independence only in 1816, but had also driven the Spaniards from Uruguay and Paraguay, and had assisted the adjoining provinces of Upper Peru, which had also rebelled against Spain. The Argentine Republic was, therefore, the base of operations against the Spanish government in the southern portion of South America, and her capital, Buenos Ayres, was the only capital on the continent which, once occupied by the patriots, was never recovered by the Spanish. Peru was at the time, after Mexico, the main seat of Spanish power in America, and the viceroy of Peru sent frequent expeditions not only to subdue the insurgents of Upper Peru, which was a compara-

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tively easy task, but also against those of Buenos Ayres, who suffered serious defeats in Vilcapujio on October 1, 1813, and in Ayouma on November 14 of the same year, after having obtained an important victory at San Elezario in 1813. San Martin was for some months commander of the Argentine army in Upper Peru during 1814, and he soon became satisfied that the war could not end until a mortal blow was given to the Spanish power in Peru, and he realized that the only effectual way to accomplish that end was to march from Chile to Peru by the Pacific. He was therefore transferred, at his own request, to the Province of Cuyo, at whose capital, Mendoza, which commanded the main pass of the high cordillera dividing Argentina from Chile, he organized and disciplined his army, availing himself of the assistance of the Chilean patriots who flocked to his banner, among them being O'Higgins, who subsequently took such a leading part in public events in Chile.

On January 17, 1817, San Martin's army left Mendoza and crossed the high cordillera by the Uspallata pass, an undertaking accomplished in the face of the enemy, and which may well be compared with the crossing of the Alps by Hannibal, several centuries before, when he invaded Italy. While in Chile San Martin defeated the Spanish army at Chacabuco on February 12, 1817, which permitted him to occupy Santiago, the capital of that country. The viceroy sent from Lima another army of Spanish veterans, which was defeated by San Martin at Maipo, near Santiago, on April 5, 1818, thus achieving the independence of Chile, and putting the Spanish viceroy at Lima on the defensive.

The governments of the La Plata Provinces and Chile had agreed by a treaty signed at Buenos Ayres on February 5, 1819, to send a joint expedition of their forces to liberate Peru; but before the expedition started a revolution broke out in the Argentine Provinces, necessitating the return of the Argentine army from Chile, and instructions were sent to San Martin to hasten back. San Martin, realizing that if he went back to Buenos Ayres the cause of independence would be seriously jeopardized, made up his mind to disobey his instructions, and he resigned his command, but was recognized as general-in-chief by his army at Rancagua, in Chile, and finally appointed general-in-chief of the joint Chilean-Argentine expeditionary army by the Chilean government. Before San Martin left Chile for Peru,

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the Argentine government had been overthrown, anarchy prevailing there, and he found himself, therefore, without a government or nation to back his force, but acted as general-in-chief of the combined army, both by the appointment of the Chilean government and by the act of Rancagua. San Martin knew that he could not march to Peru overland, and he therefore concentrated all his efforts to assist in providing Chile with a navy which would clear the Spanish armada from the Pacific.

The geographical position of Chile, a long and narrow strip of land bounded by the Cordilleras on the east and bordering on the Pacific Ocean, made it indispensable for her to have a navy. It is extraordinary how, being the poorest and the last of the Spanish crown American colonies, she could under the able leadership of O'Higgins, a Chilean patriot of Irish descent, and while she was carrying on her war of independence against Spain, improvise a navy, a task in which she was very substantially assisted by San Martin and the Buenos Ayres government with the man-of-war "Intrepid," lost at the capture of Valdivia on February 3, 1820, by Lord Cochrane. By September, 1818, O'Higgins had procured five men-of-war, manned by raw recruits with little or no naval discipline, and a few English and Americans who could not speak Spanish. These he put under the command of Colonel Manuel Blanco Encalada, who had previously served in the Spanish navy, and who attacked the frigate "Maria Isabel" on October 28, 1818, while she was under the protection of the forts at the port of Talcahuano, and captured that vessel, as well as five Spanish transports, with 700 Spanish soldiers. The enlarged Chilean navy was placed under the command of dashing Lord Cochrane, a very distinguished admiral of the British Royal Navy, then under a cloud at home, who took service under the Chilean flag, attacked and defeated the Spanish navy at the port of Callao, capturing the flagship "Esmeralda," and so established Chilean naval supremacy in the Southern Pacific among the American Republics.

In that navy, consisting of nine men-of-war and sixteen transports, San Martin left Valparaiso for the Peruvian coast on August 20, 1820,* with an army of 4,118 men, of which 2,313

*It may be interesting to give a list of the ships which constituted the first Chilean navy, when the squadron left Valparaiso for Peru on August 20, 1820, under Lord Cochrane, and the way in which they were obtained.
Ship of the line "San Martin," of 64 guns, called before "Cumberland," which

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were Argentines and 1805 Chileans. Eighteen days later he landed in Peru near the city of Pisco, to the south of Lima. The viceroy had over 23,000 men under his command, which he could concentrate against San Martin, and it required great generalship and fine manœuvering to baffle the Spanish army. After remaining a month and a half at Pisco, and sending a portion of his army to the interior to raise the people in favor of independence, San Martin sailed with the remainder of his army, on October 29, 1820, to Ancon, a port 20 miles north of Lima. When the Spanish army was being concentrated against him there he moved again, on November 8, having possession of the sea, to Huacho, about 70 miles north of Lima, thus severing the communication of the viceroy with his northern provinces. In the meantime the principal towns of Peru began to join the independent cause, and even a portion of the native army of the viceroy joined San Martin. The Viceroy was thus forced to evacuate Lima on July 6, 1821, and it was forthwith occupied by San Martin.

San Martin foresaw with his clear mind the great unrest and political turmoil which the adoption of republican institutions would necessarily entail upon the new nations, as they were not prepared for a form of government which requires an enlightened people, capable of self-government, and he therefore, as well as the Argentine government under Pueyrredon, favored the establishment of a monarchy, Bolivar being decidedly for a republican form of government.

San Martin was not to accomplish by himself his final object, as that task was reserved to Bolivar. In 1822 San Martin's con-

belonged to the English East India Company, and was bought for $200,000 at Valparaiso by the Chilean government in 1818. Frigate "O'Higgins," 44 guns, formerly called "Maria Isabel," captured at Talcahuano October 28, 1818. Frigate "Lautaro," 50 guns, called before "Windham," belonging to English and American merchants of Valparaiso, was sold to the Chilean government for $180,000, June, 1818. Frigate "Independencia," 28 guns, formerly called "Curacio," bought in the United States for $150,000, June, 1819. Frigate "Calvarino," 18 guns, formerly called "Lucia," was bought by the Chilean government in 1818 for $70,000. Frigate "Araucano," 16 guns, called before "Columbus," bought in the United States for $33,000. Brig "Pueyrredon," 18 guns, called before "Aguila," belonged to the Spanish navy and entered Valparaiso in February, 1817, without knowing that the port was in the possession of the patriots. Schooner "Montezuma," 7 guns, captured at Callao in 1819. Sloop "Chacabuco," 20 guns, called before "Coquimbo," bought in Valparaiso in 1818. This ship remained to guard the Chilean coast.

The transports captured by the Chilean navy, and some of which were used to carry the army to Peru, were the "Magdalena," "Dolores," "Corlota," "Rosalia," and "Helena," formerly belonging to the Spanish government and captured by Admiral Blanco Encalada, and the merchant ships "Regina," "Aguila," "Victoria," and "Jeresana," captured by Lord Cochrane. Frigate "Thomas" was captured at Talcahuano June 8, 1818. Brig "San Miguel" was captured by the "Lautaro" in 1817. "Perla" and "Potrillo" were Chilean vessels which had been captured by the Spanish and recaptured by Lord Cochrane.

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dition in Peru was difficult, as his army had been considerably reduced by hard service and sickness, he having only 8,500 men, many of them raw recruits, while the viceroy had in Upper Peru about 19,000 men who could be easily concentrated in a comparatively short time. San Martin thought it necessary, therefore, to have the assistance of Bolivar to give a speedy finishing blow to the Spanish dominion in Peru, and he proposed to meet Bolivar. They met in Guayaquil on July 26 and 27, 1822.

No authentic report of that interview has ever been published, and this has given rise to many surmises about its objects and results. From the events which preceded and followed the same, and from a letter written soon afterward by San Martin to Bolivar on August 29, 1822, and his conversations with friends, there is room to form an idea of what took place at the meeting. San Martin offered Bolivar to serve under his orders, if he would go with his victorious armies to Peru; but his proposal was not accepted, Bolivar saying that he could not leave Colombia without permission from the Colombian Congress, and he only agreed to send 1,500 men of his army to aid San Martin. It is well known that San Martin and Bolivar differed greatly in their views on many subjects relating to the work that they both had undertaken. The difference of opinion between the two regarding the government of the new states was another factor which contributed to prevent their acting in accord. One cause of irritation between them was the question of the port of Guayaquil, which San Martin thought ought to belong to Peru, or be decided by negotiations between the Colombian and Peruvian governments, while Bolivar had already annexed it to Colombia. San Martin understood that he was in Bolivar's way, and sincerely wishing the success of the cause of independence, proved himself a true patriot and a great man, preferring to sacrifice his future, and decided to withdraw from his field of operations, leaving his competitor alone with the sole responsibility for the course of future events.

San Martin consequently returned to Peru, where he had previously convoked a national congress to organize the country, and on the very day when congress met, on September 20, 1822, he resigned his command in Peru and sailed for Chile.

Bolivar's career was still more eventful. He fought the Spanish both in Venezuela and New Granada with very varying

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success from 1810 to 1817, being sometimes victorious and as often crushed and defeated, and being twice obliged to fly from the country and take refuge in foreign lands. Finally he asserted his supremacy, and at the battle of Boyacá, fought on August 7, 1819, he achieved the independence of New Granada and captured Bogotá, its capital, while at Carabobo, fought on June 24, 1821, he achieved the independence of his native land, Venezuela, having previously occupied its capital, Caracas.

Bolivar, like San Martin, realized that his success could not be permanent, as long as the Spaniards were in possession of the neighboring countries, and more specially Peru, the principal Spanish stronghold in South America, which they used as a base of attack against the new nationalities, and he therefore decided to attack them first in Ecuador and eventually go to Peru. Both armies, each from opposite ends of South America, converged on Peru with the same object in view, of putting an end to the Spanish domination. He consequently marched his army to Ecuador and defeated the enemy at Bomboná on April 7, 1822, and achieved the independence of that country at the battle of Pichincha, fought on May 24, 1822.

As San Martin predicted, the patriots' army in Peru was defeated after he left the country, both at Torata and Moquegua. After those defeats and the destruction of the army organized by Peru, under General Santa Cruz, the Peruvian government made a treaty with Colombia on April 12, 1823, for the purpose of having the assistance of 6,000 troops, and finally after the country had fallen into anarchy, Bolivar made his appearance in Lima, where he was hailed as the Liberator of the country, the Peruvian congress appointing him, by decree dated at Lima on August 10, 1823, Dictator and Liberator of Peru, thus giving him entire civil and military control over the country, and realizing San Martin's prediction.

Bolivar, in full charge of the combined Peruvian, Chilean and Argentine armies as well as the whole of the Colombian army, marched against the Spaniards in Upper Peru, and fought and defeated at Junin, on August 6, 1824, a cavalry division, the flower of the Spanish army, and gave the finishing blow to the Spanish domination in South America, at the battle of Ayacucho, on December 9th of the same year, where Bolivar's army was commanded by Sucre. The Viceroy of Peru, General

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La Cerna, had at Ayacucho 10,000 Spanish veterans, while Sucre had only 6,000 men; the Spaniards lost 2,000 killed and wounded and 3,000 prisoners, and the rest of the army surrendered to Sucre, who sent them home at Peru's expense.

Both San Martin and Bolivar died poor. San Martin ended his life in Europe in 1850, as a self-exile, without attempting to interfere in any manner with, or exercise any influence on, the political destinies of his country or of those in whose liberation he had so effectually assisted; while Bolivar died in Santa Marta in 1830, at the age of 47, broken hearted at the disruption of the Republic of Colombia, at the breaking out of civil war in his country, and at the ingratitude of many he had befriended.

When the enormous difficulties are considered that the liberating armies had to contend with, traversing immense distances in a very difficult and broken country without railways or even wagon roads, having often to transport their artillery on mule back, without any commissariat or money to pay the army, and often even without arms or ammunition, it is really wonderful what those men did. Indeed, their march can be advantageously compared to Alexander's invasion of Persia, with the difference in Alexander's favor that he went into a rich country and had at his disposal the spoils of the Persian royal family, one of the richest at that time, while these men went into a poor and unsettled country, terribly ravaged by a destructive war.

In Mexico, as in all the other Spanish colonies, the war of independence had begun in 1810, and we consider that it ended on September 27, 1821, when Iturbide entered the City of Mexico with his victorious army, although the war had been practically ended when the Spanish Viceroy O'Donaju signed with Iturbide at the city of Cordova on August 24, 1821, a treaty in which he recognized on behalf of the Spanish government the independence of Mexico.

In what is now called Central America the people remained under the Spanish government without any attempt to proclaim independence, very likely because they thought they could not cope with the power of the Spanish viceroy in Mexico. When they heard of Iturbide's success, however, they proclaimed their independence and annexation to Mexico on September 15, 1821. They seceded from Mexico in 1823, and established then, and not until then, the Central American con-

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federation, under the name of the United Provinces of Central America, a confederation which lasted until 1839, when each of the five states became an independent nation.

This statement of facts shows that on March 8, 1822, when Mr. Monroe asked Congress to recognize the independence of the Spanish colonies in America, Mexico, the Central American States, New Granada, Venezuela, Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Chile, had fully accomplished their independence, and in Ecuador and Peru independence was practically accomplished, as Bolivar's army was then fighting under General Sucre at Ecuador, and the Spanish viceroy had evacuated Lima on account of San Martin's manœuvres since July 6, 1821. The independence of Bolivia, or Upper Peru as it was then called, had been practically accomplished when San Martin invaded Chile in 1817.

The above facts show that I was correct in saying that the United States government recognized the independence of the Spanish colonies, after they had fully accomplished the same, but that statement did not imply any complaint against this government, as the recognition of independence is the recognition of a fact which cannot be recognized before it has actually occurred. Any other conduct would have implied an alliance between the revolted colonies and the United States, and it would have been unreasonable for the colonies to expect this country to enter into any such alliance with them.

In making that assertion I have only repeated what distinguished statesmen, public men and prominent writers of this country have said before in a more clear manner, and I quoted in my article an authority containing a very explicit opinion on this subject. It would take a great deal more space than it is proper to occupy were I to quote the many declarations of American statesmen bearing on this matter, and I will, therefore, only quote one from Mr. John Quincy Adams, in a report which he made as Secretary of State to President Monroe, dated August 24, 1816, published in *Wharton's International Law Digest*, paragraph 70, Chapter III., page 521, Volume I., second edition :

"There is a stage in such revolutionary contests when the party struggling for independence has, as I conceive, a right to demand its acknowledgment by neutral parties, and when the acknowledgment may be granted without departure from the obligations of neutrality. It is the stage when the independence is established as matter of fact, so as to leave the chance of the opposite party to recover their dominion utterly desperate. The neutral

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nation, must, of course, judge for itself when this period has arrived; and as the belligerent nation has the same right to judge for itself, it is very likely to judge differently from the neutral, and to make it a cause or pretext for war, as Great Britain did expressly against France in our Revolution, and substantially against Holland. If war thus results, in point of fact, from the measure of recognizing the contested independence, the moral right or wrong of the war depends upon the justice and sincerity and prudence with which the recognizing nation took the step. I am satisfied that the cause of the South Americans, so far as it consists in the assertion of independence against Spain, is just. But the justice of a cause, however it may enlist individual feelings in its favor, is not sufficient to justify third parties in siding with it. The fact and the right combined can alone authorize a neutral to acknowledge a new and disputed sovereignty."

Senator Money thinks that my assertion is incorrect, and he states that "as far as the law of nations would permit it, we (the United States) certainly gave material support to the cause of freedom in South America," and mentions in support of his assertion "the curious spectacle afforded of two ships exactly alike, built at the same time, in the same American shipyard, one for the Spanish king, and one for his insurgent subjects." If the laws of this country allowed such a proceeding, it was not an act in support of the revolted Spanish colonies, and neither was it an act in support of the king of Spain. Anything that is done for both of the contending parties cannot be said to be in favor of either of them or be looked upon as an act of great material or moral support.

As early as December 10, 1811, a resolution was reported by a committee of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, on the recognition of the independence of the South American Provinces, which was not acted upon. Several others were afterwards introduced in the House of Representatives of the United States Congress expressing sympathy with the insurrection of the American colonies, and this fact is mentioned in support of the assertion that the cause of independence had the moral support of the United States. I was very well aware of the very deep sympathy that the cause of independence awoke in the people of the United States and especially in the breast of Mr. Clay, who was the leader of the House on that subject, and I referred to it in my paper, giving it as much space as I possibly could; but a resolution introduced in the House of Representatives, specially when it is voted down, as were most of Mr. Clay's resolutions, cannot be called an act of moral assistance from the government of the United States, and my assertion referred to the

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government and not to the people of the United States, whose sympathies, I know, were entirely with us.

The correctness of this statement appears very clearly from the following extract from a letter addressed by Mr. Gallatin, United States Minister at Paris, to Mr. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, on November 5, 1818, and published in *Wharton's International Law Digest*, paragraph 70, Chapter 111, page 522, Volume I., second edition:

"I had upon every occasion stated that the general opinion of the United States must irresistibly lead to such a recognition; that it is a question, not of interest, but of feeling, and that this arose much less from the wish of seeing new republics established, than that of the emancipation of Spanish-America from Europe. . . . We have not, either directly or indirectly, excited the insurrection. It had been the spontaneous act of the inhabitants, and the natural effect of causes, which neither the United States nor Europe could have controlled. We had lent no assistance to either party; we had preserved a strict neutrality. But no European government could be surprised or displeased that in such a cause our wishes should be in favor of the success of the colonies, or that we should treat as independent powers those amongst them which had in fact established their independence."

The fact, mentioned also by me, of several missions being sent by the United States government to the struggling colonies to ascertain the true condition of things, and act accordingly, is also mentioned by Mr. Money in support of the assertion that this government gave moral support to the independent cause; but it seems to me that if an agent or a commission is sent to inquire whether independence has been accomplished and no action is taken by the government after sending such agent or commission, the necessary inference is that the struggle was not in a condition to be recognized, and therefore the result of such measure had necessarily to be, although not intentionally so, against the struggling patriots and in favor of their enemy.

The facts mentioned by Senator Money of the "tardiness and difficulties of communication at that time, the dissensions among the insurgents, the efforts of Peru, Chile, and La Plata to organize New Granada and Venezuela into a confederate republic, and those of the Central American States, in the same direction; the continued talk of alliances, offensive and defensive; the fear that early recognition of belligerency might prevent the negotiation or ratification of the treaty of 1819 ceding Florida to the United States; the swarms of privateers who on the South Atlantic and on the Spanish Main flew the insurgent flags and

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committed the most atrocious acts of piracy," might have been sufficient to justify the United States in delaying recognition, if a complaint had been made on that point; but the question is not whether the action of the United States is or is not justifiable, but whether the government of the United States rendered any assistance to the insurgents before independence was accomplished. The United States followed a proper course under the circumstances. I must remark, however, that I was not aware that some of the incidents referred to had taken place.

To be sure, the United States government had recognized the belligerency of the revolted colonies before President Monroe asked Congress, in his message of March 2, 1822, to recognize their independence, but that was the recognition of a fact.

I have not been able to find the date of any declaration, if any was formally made, by which the United States recognized the belligerency of the revolted Spanish colonies. In Mr. Monroe's message of March 8, 1822, he says that they had enjoyed belligerent rights. He made the same statement in his annual messages of December 2, 1817, and December 7, 1819, as in the former he said "that the United States has maintained impartial neutrality between Spain and its provinces, our ports have been open to both, etc.," a statement which he corroborates in the latter in the following words: "An impartial neutrality has been followed in the Civil War between Spain and the Spanish Provinces in America, . . . and our ports have continued to be equally open to both parties, etc."

I must remark that several of the revolted Spanish colonies had from the beginning of the struggle armies which could compete with and often defeat the best troops of the Spanish army, who had fought in the Peninsula against Napoleon; had issued constitutions and organized regular governments; had in some cases improvised a navy which defeated the Spanish armada, and captured and held their respective capitals. They were therefore real belligerents engaged in a lawful war of independence.

Far from intending to belittle the importance of the recognition of belligerency, I, on the contrary, am glad to acknowledge it, not only as an act of justice but also as a favor. Although, generally speaking, the granting of what one considers to be a right is not taken as a favor, nevertheless it is so, when the third party can, in the exercise of his sovereignty, ignore the

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right, as it can do, being the only judge of its obligations, and there being no way to compel its recognition, unless by force, which in that case was, of course, altogether out of the question.

But that recognition did not, of course, prevent the United States government from enforcing its neutrality laws, as appears from a list of individuals and vessels prosecuted during 1815 for violating the neutrality of the United States in and of the governments of the United Provinces of New Granada and the United Provinces of Mexico, transmitted by the Secretary of State on January 10, 1817.

I believed that, among Americans of Spanish origin, I was perhaps as well prepared as any other to appreciate the scope and transcendent result of the policy announced by President Monroe in his message of December 2, 1823, commonly known as the Monroe doctrine, and I am sorry that my remarks on that subject could be misunderstood. I did not say "that the Monroe doctrine was of no material advantage to the new republics," and much less "that it was of no value as giving moral support." My remarks about the Monroe doctrine were only elementary and were intended specially to make plain its meaning and scope to the American republics, where in some cases it is misunderstood, being construed into a policy which has for its object the final absorption by the United States of all the American republics. If the paragraph of my paper referring to this point is carefully read, it will be seen that my assertion to the effect that the recognition by the United States of the independence of the Spanish colonies in America was only theoretical, referred to Mr. Monroe's message of March 8, 1822, in which he announced such recognition, and not to his message of December 2, 1823. All the remarks which bear on the subject of the Monroe doctrine are, therefore, without foundation.

I have great respect for Mr. Clay, who was, as I have just said, a sincere friend of the revolted Spanish colonies, and I would not willingly say anything to impeach his patriotism or integrity. I did not imagine, therefore, that my remarks in examining Mr. Clay's reasons for requesting the governments of Mexico and Colombia, on behalf of the government of the United States, to suspend a joint expedition that they were fitting out against Cuba, could be construed as a charge of insincerity either against Mr. Clay or against President John Quincy

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Adams, whom I equally respect for his pure patriotism, high character and integrity, and lofty views, and who I well know was not a pro-slavery man. I did not say nor imply that the reasons stated by Mr. Clay were imaginary, and, much less, that he had advanced them knowing them to be unfounded; what I said was that I thought that besides the reasons expressed in Mr. Clay's letter there might have been others, and I acknowledge that my surmise may be incorrect.

As considerations which supported my assertion, which, as I have just said, was only a surmise, I had the fact that Mr. Clay was a Southern man, and that President Adams' administration was the result of a compromise in which he could not well support a policy which might in some way affect the slavery question in the United States, then the leading question in this country. Senator Money states that "the reason mentioned as given by Mr. Clay was not the only one which he avowed." The only official paper I have seen on that subject, and the one on which I based my statement, was a letter addressed by Mr. Clay, as Secretary of State, to Mr. Everett, United States Minister to Madrid, dated April 13, 1826, enclosing a copy of his letter to the Colombian and Mexican Ministers in Washington, of December 20, 1825, in which he recommended the suspension of the combined expedition, and which was published in March of the present year by the *Monitor*, a newspaper of the City of Mexico, a translation of which I insert below.* If Mr. Clay avowed any other reasons, I am not aware of them. I expressed the opinion that Mr. Clay had other reasons besides those which he stated, and I am glad to be in accord with Senator Money on this point, possibly our only difference of opinion being which were those other reasons not avowed.

* The letter referred to is the following, which, as it has been retranslated from Spanish into English, cannot have the same wording as the original:

"WASHINGTON, April 13, 1826.

"I addressed on the 20th of last December a note to the Ministers of Colombia and Mexico, copy whereof I enclose, for the purpose of inducing their respective governments to suspend any expedition which they might be preparing, either individually or collectively, against the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico.

"Great Britain is firmly convinced that the United States will never consent that those islands should belong to England, no matter what might be the consequences of such policy. France is also aware that we would not be indifferent to her obtaining the possession of said islands.

"The situation of the great maritime powers (the United States, Great Britain, and France) is nearly equivalent to an absolute guarantee of the possession of those islands in favor of Spain, but it is impossible to enter into any agreement by treaty guaranteeing such possession, and the President wishes you should let the Spanish Government know that we cannot bind ourselves to any obligation whatever looking to such guarantee. You must continue to decline any proposition for that purpose, if any such is presented."

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Studying further this subject, I have found that the United States could not have acted in any other manner than they did in this case, for the simple reason that they had committed themselves to follow that course. This fact appears very clearly stated in the following extract from a note by Mr. Richard Henry Dana, to paragraph 68, page 106, Chapter II. of Part II., of *Wheaton's Elements of International Law*, Boston edition of 1866, which shows at the same time that the people of Cuba, far from being entirely satisfied with the Spanish rule, desired their emancipation from the mother country, when the other American colonies of Spain had either already accomplished their independence or were fighting for the same:

"The people of Cuba, already divided between the parties of the king and the Cortes, and terrified by symptoms of slave insurrections, had among them large numbers who, dissatisfied with Spanish rule, looked to other powers for protection—some to Great Britain, but far the larger part to the United States. About September, 1822, the latter party sent a secret agent to confer with President Monroe. They declared that if the United States government would promise them protection, and ultimate admission into the Union, a revolution would be made to throw off the Spanish authority, of the success of which they had no doubt. While this proposition was before Mr. Monroe's cabinet, he received an unofficial and circuitous communication from the French Minister, asserting that his government had positive information of the design of Great Britain to take possession of Cuba. The American government replied to the Cuban deputation that the friendly relations of the United States with Spain did not permit us to promise countenance or protection to insurrectional movements, and advised the people of Cuba to adhere to their Spanish allegiance; at the same time informing them that an attempt upon Cuba by either Great Britain or France would place the relations of Cuba with the United States in a very different position. Mr. Rush was instructed to inform Mr. Canning that the United States could not see with indifference the possession of Cuba by any European power other than Spain, and to inform him of the rumors that had reached the cabinet. Mr. Canning disavowed emphatically all intention on the part of Great Britain to take possession of Cuba, but avowed her determination not to see with indifference its occupation by either France or the United States, and proposed an understanding between the British, French, and American governments, without any formal convention, that Cuba should be left in the quiet possession of Spain. This was assented to by Mr. Monroe; but he had no communication with France on the subject, leaving that to the management of Great Britain."

The fact that the slavery question had something to do in this case appears also stated in the following extract from a note of Mr. Dana's on the Monroe Doctrine to *Wheaton's Elements of International Law*, above quoted, paragraph 68, page 111, Chapter II., Part II.:

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"The slaveholding interest was clearly looking to Cuba, not only as an addition to its political power in the Union, but to prevent abolition of slavery there by some other power; and it is known that Mr. Adams had a noticeable leaning in favor of its importance to us in a military and commercial view."

The Cubans had been conspiring to proclaim their independence since similar movements began on the mainland. The example of the Spanish colonies in America which had revolted against the mother country and accomplished their independence could not but influence the Cubans to attempt to attain the same object. Mr. Ballou, of Massachusetts, who in 1854 visited Cuba, and who remained there for a long time, returned to this country and wrote a book on that subject, in which he says:

"When the Cubans saw that their brothers in the Spanish-American colonies had revolted against the mother country, and that most of them had secured their independence, they thought of following in their footsteps, and in 1823 the disaffected party conspired against Spain, relying on the promise of Simon Bolivar of throwing an invading force into the island. The conspiracy was discovered and suppressed prematurely. In 1826 some Cuban agitators residing in Caracas attempted a new expedition which failed and caused the execution of Don Francisco de Puero y Velazco and Don Bernabe Sanchez."

Senator Money seriously misunderstands me when he says that Mr. Clay's caution is regarded by me as unfriendly. I did not express any such opinion, as my object was merely to mention a fact without commenting on it.

How Mr. Clay's action on this question could be of the most vital service to Mexico is more than I can comprehend. Spain did not feel the necessity of terminating the war with the colonies already gone from her in order to secure Cuba and Porto Rico, as she was bent on recovering Mexico, and in 1829 she sent an armed military expedition for that purpose under General Barradas, which landed at Tampico. It was not until 1836, when all hopes of recovering her dominion in Mexico were lost, that Spain recognized our independence.

The assertion that Mexico did not emancipate her few slaves until several years after the events considered in the paper that I am examining is incorrect. The leader of the independent movement, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, proclaimed independence on September 16, 1810, and on December 6 of the same year he issued a decree abolishing slavery, and the slaves were emancipated in such places as were under the patriots' control.

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The first Mexican Congress, which met at Chilpancingo in 1813, and issued a constitution on October 22, 1814, promulgated also a decree abolishing slavery; and as soon as independence was accomplished the abolition of slavery was ratified by another decree issued on July 13, 1824, soon after the City of Mexico had been occupied, and it was then carried into effect in the whole country. The fact that our present constitution of 1857 repeats the prohibition against holding slaves in Mexico, a provision which also appears in all our former constitutions, has caused the common opinion prevailing in this country that we only abolished slavery in 1857.

I shall be entirely satisfied if I have succeeded in showing in this paper that there is nothing in the former one that can reasonably be taken as a complaint against the government of the United States, or any censure of its policy, as my only purpose was to state facts which are matter of history, and which are, I think, highly creditable to this government.

M. ROMERO.

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THIRTY YEARS OF AMERICAN TRADE.

BY MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

THE foreign trade of the United States is relatively small. With a territory as large as Europe and a population double that of Great Britain; with domestic industries which nearly equal the aggregate of those of Great Britain, France, and Germany,* the American people carry on less trade with foreign nations than any of the three aforesaid countries, the ratio of such trade being only $25 per inhabitant of the United States, against $36 in France or Germany and $92 in Great Britain. There has been, nevertheless, a prodigious development of American trade in the last quarter of a century, viz.:

	Million dollars yearly.			Dollars per inhabitant.
	Imports.	Exports.	Total.	
1867–71	425	340	765	20.10
1872–81	548	635	1,183	25.70
1882–91	712	763	1,475	25.40
1892–96	772	892	1,664	24.50

Comparing the fourth period with the first, we find that in 25 years there was an increase of 82 per cent. in imports, 162 per cent. in exports. It may be asked, why have not both branches of commerce advanced equally? The reason would appear to be that in the period 1867–71 the Union, and especially the Southern States, had not recovered from the disastrous effects of civil war.

Subsequently the productive powers of the republic came into play, with force augmented every year, until the value of exports in 1892–96 rose to an annual average of $13 per inhabitant, against $9 in 1867–71.

There can be no doubt that trade received a great impulse

* In 1894 the domestic industries of the United States reached 14,330 million dollars; the aggregate of those of Great Britain, France, and Germany 18,100 millions.

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from the resumption of specie payments in 1880. Of this we have conclusive evidence when we compare the progress made in the last 20 years by the four principal commercial nations of the world, viz.:

	Million dollars.			Ratio of increase.
	1876.	1896.	Increase.	Per cent.
United States	1,001	1,662	661	66
United Kingdom	3,034	3,542	508	17
Germany	1,790	1,997	207	11
France	1,814	1,862	48	3

Thus we see that the growth of the foreign trade of the United States far surpasses that of other nations, which is the more remarkable because 86 per cent. of American shipping is engaged in coasting or inland navigation, while the bulk of trade over the high seas is done on foreign bottoms, the energies of the people being mainly directed to the development of home industries and internal traffic.

2. *Import Trade.*—Textile manufactures constitute nearly one-sixth of all imports, but their relative importance is on the wane; such imports at present are equal to $1.80 per inhabitant, against $2.65 in the decade 1867–76. They are shown as follows:

	Million dollars yearly.			
	1867–76.	1877–86.	1887–91.	1892–96
Cottons	23	28	29	30
Woollens	41	34	49	37
Silks	25	30	35	31
Linens, etc	18	20	25	26
Total	107	112	138	124

It is gratifying to see the consumption of foreign textiles on the decline, since this is the result of augmented home manufacture.

The weight of fibre consumed in American mills has exactly trebled in twenty-five years, and we should have had to report a still more marvellous increase of textile industries but for the unwise tariff regulations against the importation of fibre. The duties upon hemp, flax, and jute were modified in 1891, those on wool removed in 1895, such measures resulting in greater activity among American mills. The consumption of fibre was as follows:

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	Tons yearly.			
	1867–71.	1872–81.	1882–91.	1892–96.
Native wool	74,000	86,000	126,000	132,000
Imported wool	19,000	28,000	44,000	71,000
All wool	93,000	114,000	170,000	203,000
Cotton	205,000	315,000	470,000	610,000
Flax, jute, etc	42,000	76,000	180,000	207,000
All fibre	340,000	505,000	820,000	1,020,000

In the census year 1890 the mills of the Union consumed 910,000 tons of fibre and produced textile goods to the value of 689 million dollars. Since then the consumption of wool has risen 33, cotton 30, and other fibres 20 per cent. There has been, however, such a fall of prices that the actual output as regards value may be estimated at 15 per cent. higher in cottons and woollens, 10 per cent. in other fibres, over the amount produced in 1890. Deduction being made for American textile goods exported (14 million dollars of cottons and 2 million dollars of hempen articles), the consumption of such goods is at present as follows:

	Million dollars yearly.			Dollars per inhabitant.
	Home-made.	Imported.	Total.	
Cotton goods	294	30	324	4.70
Woollens	328	37	365	5.30
Silks	114	31	145	2.10
Linens, bags, etc	67	26	93	1.40
Total	803	124	927	13.50

The average annual consumption is $11.70 of home-made, $1.80 of imported, textiles per inhabitant.

Sugar and coffee come next after textiles in the list of imports, consumption increasing much faster than population, the surest proof of national prosperity and of an improved condition among the working classes, viz.:

	Tons consumed yearly.			Pounds per head.	
	1867–71.	1872–91.	1892–96.	1867–71.	1892–96.
Native sugar	40,000	118,000	240,000	2	8
Imported sugar	505,000	962,000	1,710,000	30	57
All sugar	545,000	1,080,000	1,950,000	32	65
Coffee	107,000	186,000	260,000	6	9

As compared with population, we find that the consumption of sugar has doubled, that of coffee risen 50 per cent. per inhabitant, in an interval of 25 years; and in connection with this subject, as showing how such articles of consumption are affected by increase

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of wealth, we may point to the fact that the census of 1890 gave each inhabitant of the Union an average of $1,049, against $673 in 1870, that is a rise of 56 per cent. in the individual fortunes of the people.

The importation of fibre for use in American mills has risen in 25 years from 60,000 tons to nearly 300,000 tons yearly, the value being as follows:

	Million dollars yearly.				Weight tons.
	Wool.	Silk.	Flax, etc.	Total.	
1867-71	7	4	3	14	60,000
1872-81	13	7	6	26	102,000
1882-91	14	18	15	47	220,000
1892-96	21	24	16	61	280,000

The weight of imported fibre is now 28 per cent. of what is consumed, whereas in 1867–71 it did not quite reach 18 per cent. The true policy of the United States points to a free admission of all fibres, so as to stimulate textile industries, and thus render the country independent of foreign manufactures of this description.

The value of all fibre at present consumed in American mills averages two hundred and five million dollars yearly, or 3 dollars per inhabitant, and of this amount the imported stands for exactly 30 per cent.

Hardware figures as a minor article of import, and in each decade of the thirty years under consideration has uniformly averaged 39 million dollars yearly. But it would be correct to say that the United States do not import hardware, since the value exported is much larger; the latter reached 84 million dollars in 1896.

Here it may be observed that the hardware industry (including machinery) surpasses that of any other country; the output, according to the census of 1890, was eleven hundred and two millions of dollars, the product of 784,000 operatives, while the output of hardware in Great Britain is seven hundred and ten million dollars and that of Germany 520 millions.

In reviewing the import trade of the last thirty years, and comparing it with the amount of customs dues levied thereon, we cannot fail to be surprised at finding that a great reduction of duties has not led to a corresponding increase of imports per inhabitant. On the contrary, the consumption of imports per head has fallen.

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	Million dollars yearly.		Percentage of duties.	Dollars yearly per inhabitant.	
	Imports.	Duties.		Imports.	Duties.
1867-76	495	176	35.5	12.40	4.40
1877-86	598	179	30.0	11.50	3.45
1887-91	760	222	29.2	12.40	3.62
1892-96	772	165	21.4	11.30	2.41

The ratio of import dues per inhabitant is now only $2.41, or little more than half what it was in the decade 1867-76, and yet the ratio of imports has fallen $1.10 per head. If consumption of imports were adequately affected by tariff, the imports of 1892-96 should have been about thirty per cent. higher, averaging $14.40 instead of $11.30 per head.

3. Export Trade.—We have already had occasion to observe that the expansion of exports has been double that of imports. The exports of thirty years may be summed up thus:

	Million dollars yearly.			Dollars per inhabitant.	
	1867-76.	1877-86.	1887-96.	1867-76.	1887-96.
Food	141	311	305	3.50	4.75
Cotton	196	203	227	4.90	3.55
Sundries	93	234	303	2.30	4.70
Total	430	748	835	10.70	13.00

The value of exported merchandise has doubled in 20 years, notwithstanding a fall of 40 per cent. in prices. In the same interval the weight of exports has almost trebled, as shown in the following table:

	Tons yearly.		Pounds per inhabitant.	
	1872-76.	1892-96.	1872-76.	1892-96.
Meat	190,000	590,000	10	20
Grain	2,660,000	6,220,000	140	205
Cotton	560,000	1,210,000	30	40
Petroleum*	910,000	3,850,000	47	127
Total	4,320,000	11,870,000	227	392

Thus it appears that as regards quantity three Americans now export as much as five did 20 years ago, which suffices to show how groundless are the predictions of some writers who tell us that as population increases so the surplus products for exportation must diminish. In the last 20 years population has risen from forty-five to seventy-one million souls, an increase of fifty-eight per cent., and at the same time the weight of exports has risen one hundred and seventy-five per cent; that is, three times as fast as population.

* A ton has 220 gallons.

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The world is only beginning to have evidence of the enormous productive power of the United States.

In twenty years the production of grain has increased seventy-seven, meat seventy-two, per cent., as shown in the following table:

	Grain, tons yearly.			Meat, tons yearly.	
	1872-76.	1892-96.		1872-76.	1892-96.
Maize	27,200,000	43,400,000	Beef	1,300,000	2,610,000
Wheat	7,100,000	12,300,000	Mutton	340,000	440,000
Oats, etc	8,800,000	20,400,000	Pork	1,200,000	1,850,000
Total	43,100,000	76,100,000	Total	2,840,000	4,900,000

The quantities of food yearly exported are sufficient to feed 30 million persons in Europe, from which it appears that American farms raise food for 100 millions of people yearly. The Western prairies are capable of carrying double the present number of live stock, and producing ten times as much grain as they do, so that, for at least a century to come, there is every probability that the exportation of food will increase with population. The same is true as regards cotton, the crop having risen 125 per cent. in twenty years, viz.:

	Tons yearly.		
	Crop.	Export.	Home use.
1872-76	810,000	550,000	260,000
1892-96	1,820,000	1,210,000	610,000

The cotton fields, which, at present, cover 24 million acres, may be doubled or trebled in area, and as the world receives 77 per cent. of its cotton from the United States, it is to be expected that production and export will go on increasing as rapidly as they have done since 1876.

As regards petroleum, the supply seems practically inexhaustible; exports since 1893 have exceeded 900 million gallons yearly, having doubled in the last ten years. In a word, from whatever point of view, the prospects of American exports are in favor of constant increase.

4. *Trade with Europe.*—There is a decided tendency in the trade of the United States to open up new channels in other parts of the world than Europe. There is an exception as regards Germany, with which country commercial relations have made striking progress in ten years, viz:

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With	Trade, million dollars yearly. 1882–86	1892–96	Ratio of increase.
Great Britain	561	584	4 per cent.
Germany	123	179	45 "
France	126	123	0 "
Other countries	158	207	31 "
Europe	968	1,093	12 "
Other ports	446	571	28 "
The world	1,414	1,664	18 "

The increase of trade with Europe has been only 12 per cent., while with other parts of the world it has been 28 per cent. The declining ratio of trade with Great Britain is very remarkable. In 1872–76 the mother country stood for 45 per cent. of the foreign trade of the United States, but the ratio fell to 40 per cent. in 1882–86, and to 35 per cent. in 1892–96. When we bear in mind the free-trade policy of Great Britain, and the similarity of language and race of the two countries, this decline of trade is phenomenal, seeing that it is coeval with an increase of dealings with Germany.

5. *Wanted, a North American Trade Union.*—The interests of the United States, Mexico, and Canada demand the immediate formation of a Zollverein or Commercial Union, which would abolish all custom houses between the three countries by an arrangement similar to the Zollverein, established in 1853, between Prussia, Bavaria, and the other sovereign states of Germany, without infringing on their political independence. Mexico seems ripe for a compact of this kind, as her trade with the United States is increasing, and Canada shows a similar tendency, viz. :

Trade with	Million dollars yearly. 1887-91.	1892-96.	Rate of increase.
Mexico	48	60	25 per cent.
Canada	80	90	12 "

But for the existing barriers of custom houses and tariffs the trade between the United States and Canada would be double what it is, which means that the loss of trade to Canada by the present system is 45 million dollars yearly, or $9 per inhabitant, and to the United States 45 millions, or 60 cents per inhabitant. The relative loss, therefore, falls fifteen times more heavily on Canadians than on the people of the United States, and the longer this state of things continues the worse for the

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Dominion. There ought to be, as far as commerce is concerned, no more barrier between Canada and New England than between New York and Pennsylvania. The census of 1890 shows us that 8 per cent. of the population of the New England States is composed of Canadian farmers!

6. *Trade With West Indies and South America.*—The gross amount of trade, imports and exports, between the United States and the West Indies has declined in the last twenty years, partly owing to the diminished value of sugar, partly to the troubles in Cuba, as shown in the following table:

	Million dollars yearly.		
Year.	Cuba.	Other islands.	All West Indies.
1872-76	84	34	118
1882-86	58	50	108
1892-96	65	42	107

While there has been on the whole a falling off, this is not true of the British islands (especially Jamaica and Trinidad), with which, on the contrary, American trade has risen 95 per cent. in the above interval, those islands finding a profitable market for tropical fruits in the seaport cities of the Union. The returns of American trade with three of the principal islands show thus:

Trade with!	1875. Dollars.	1885. Dollars.	1895. Dollars.
Jamaica	3,400,000	5,100,000	9,700,000
Trinidad	1,900,000	4,600,000	4,900,000
Barbadoes	3,600,000	3,500,000	2,700,000
Total	8,900,000	13,200,000	17,300,000

The prosperity of the British West Indies is due in great measure to their proximity to the United States and the rapid development of trade that has resulted.

If Cuba were a British, instead of a Spanish, colony her trade would probably have trebled in the last 20 years, like that of Jamaica or Trinidad.

All the South American republics have opened up so many new channels of trade within the last 10 years between the northern and southern portions of the American Continent that we find an increase of 48 per cent. in their dealings with the United States, while the trade between Great Britain and South America has risen only 20 per cent. in the same time, viz.:

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With	American trade. Million dollars yearly. 1882-86.	1892-96.	British trade. Million dollars yearly. 1882-86.	1892-96.
Brazil	46	85	56	56
Other republics	55	64	94	125
South America	101	149	150	181

Ten years ago British trade exceeded that of the United States in South America by forty-nine per cent.; at present the excess is only twenty-one per cent., which shows that before long the bulk of South American trade will be carried on with the United States.

7. *Current of Bullion.*—It is by no means easy to say how far the current of bullion is determined, or rather affected, by an excess of imports or of exports, but it is, nevertheless, interesting to observe the influx and outflow of the precious metals, viz.:

Period.	Million dollars imported. Gold.	Silver.	Total.	Million dollars exported. Gold.	Silver.	Total.
1877-86	349	138	487	184	223	407
1887-96	340	272	612	607	380	987
Twenty years	689	410	1,099	791	603	1,394

In the decade ending 1886 there was a net influx of 80 millions of the precious metals, but in that ending 1896 there was a net outflow of 375 millions. In both decades the exports of merchandise largely exceeded imports, the excess in the decade ending 1896 amounting to 701 million dollars. That is to say, during the last ten years the average annual surplus of merchandise exports was 70 million dollars, and yet so far from a net inflow of bullion there was an average outflow of the precious metals amounting to 37½ million dollars yearly.

This ought to show how erroneous are the old "balance-of-trade" theories, to the effect that whenever a country exported more merchandise than it imported the difference always came back in bullion, if not in the same year, at least within a given number of years.

8. *Internal Trade.*—In the preceding remarks no allusion has been made to the internal trade of the United States, which is nine times as great as the amount of interchange with foreign countries. It rose forty-nine per cent. in the interval of fourteen years, from 1880 to 1894, the increase of population having been thirty-six per cent.

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	Million dollars.		Dollars per inhabitant.	
	1880.	1894.	1880.	1894.
Agricultural products	3,350	3,882	67	57
Manufactures	5,360	9,372	107	142
Forests and fisheries	520	624	10	9
Minerals	384	452	8	7
Total	9,614	14,330	192	215

The average per inhabitant is $23 higher than in 1880, which shows that however rapid the growth of population the development of national resources is still more striking. If we count the working year as 300 days the internal trade will be found to average 48 million dollars daily, while external commerce is little over 5 millions. Moreover, the former progresses much faster, having risen (as we have seen) 49 per cent. since 1880, whereas foreign trade is hardly 10 per cent. higher. Internal trade is the best gauge of national progress, because it reflects the power, energy, and resources of a people.

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LEPROSY AND HAWAIIAN ANNEXATION.

BY PRINCE A. MORROW, M.D.

THE proposed annexation of the Hawaiian islands by the United States has excited a general interest in everything relating to these islands and their inhabitants. Their maritime importance to this country and the advantages which would follow annexation from a commercial standpoint have been fully set forth, but the sanitary aspects of the scheme have received no attention. When it is considered that more than ten per cent. of the Hawaiian race are affected with leprosy it becomes a serious question as to what will be the effect of the absorption of this tainted population upon the health interests of this country.

Incidentally it may be said that the history of the Hawaiian people furnishes many facts worthy of careful study by the student of sociology as well as the medical man. It presents the picture of a people, *facile princeps* among the Polynesian races, by their fine physical qualities and superior intelligence, inhabiting a group of beautiful islands—the "Paradise of the Pacific"—with a delightful climate and productive soil, surrounded by conditions most favorable for life, yet dying at a rapid rate. Civilization seems to have acted as a blight upon this people; under its withering touch they have dwindled by thousands each decade until now they number less than one-tenth the original population. At the time of Captain Cook's visit (1779) he estimated the population at nearly half a million. In 1823 it had decreased to 142,000; in 1853 the census showed 73,000, in 1873 56,000; in 1893 the native population did not exceed 35,000. No unfavorable influence of soil or climate or hardship can be invoked in explanation of the decay and death of the native race. It is not the outcome of a contest between a savage and a civilized race in which the weaker succumbs to the stronger, as exemplified

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in the case of the North American Indian. It is not the result of a struggle for existence, since there can be no competition for subsistence in a land where nature is kindly and bountiful, and furnishes a supply of easily procured food sufficient for the needs of all. Under the same conditions which have led to the depletion of the Hawaiian race, and which threaten its ultimate extinction, the foreign races that have settled here have flourished and multiplied.

The causes which have led to the native depopulation are of great interest from a demographic point of view. Prominent among these causes must be placed the introduction of diseases peculiar to civilization. The germs of disease transplanted to this virgin soil have flourished with a rank luxuriance unknown in older communities. Virginity of soil, or lack of immunization, is recognized as a powerful factor not only in increasing susceptibility to disease but also in determining a special virulence and malignancy in its course.

The mortality from measles and whooping cough, introduced in 1849, was extraordinary, almost all of the cases terminating fatally. The ravages of small-pox introduced in 1853 were simply frightful; more than half the native population of Honolulu died from the disease. That this excessive mortality was largely due to the racial peculiarity of virginity of soil is evidenced by the fact that more recently, since the Hawaiians have acquired the partial protection of hereditary immunity, these same diseases no longer exhibit such a virulent type. It would be interesting to trace other factors in the depletion of the Hawaiian race, such as physiological peculiarities, the low birth rate, habits of living, etc., but want of space forbids. To the medical man the chief interest of these islands centers in leprosy, and it will be the object of this paper to give a brief account of the introduction of leprosy, its extraordinarily rapid spread, the measures adopted by the government for its suppression, and their results.

For the more intelligent comprehension of the lay reader, it may be well to begin with some general considerations respecting the nature of the disease, its communicability, etc. Leprosy is the most ancient and the most dreaded of all diseases; in the popular conception it represents the deepest dishonor that human flesh can suffer. The term "leprous" has crept into literature as expressive of all that is most foul, loathsome and unclean.

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The popular horror of the disease is, perhaps, due not so much to a knowledge of its nature as to the harsh and cruel measures employed for its repression. The Levitical Code which decreed that the leper should be cast out of the city, stoned and driven away from the habitations of men, has, with some modifications, served as a model for sanitary laws in succeeding ages, although it must be admitted that such proscriptive measures are now carried out with more humanity and with a more intelligent discrimination than under the Mosaic dispensation. In the light of our present knowledge, it is evident that many simple cutaneous diseases, such as scabies, psoriasis, etc., were classed by the Jewish priests as leprosy.

For several centuries leprosy had practically disappeared from Europe and most civilized countries. When a leprous center was discovered in Norway about 50 years ago, it had for medical men much the interest of a resurrected disease. To-day it is spread over more than one-fourth the habitable surface of the globe. The Hawaiian Islands have afforded a better field for the study of the disease than any leprous center in the world. Owing to its comparatively recent introduction, the influence of heredity, of contagion and other conditions which are factors in its propagation, may here be traced with comparative precision.

The facts of our knowledge of this disease may be briefly summarized. The active cause of leprosy is a specific microorganism, the *bacillus leprœ*. The period of incubation varies from a few minutes to several years.

Two principal types or forms of leprosy that are recognized as the brunt of the disease is determined toward the skin or toward the peripheral nervous system. The first form is termed tubercular; the second, anæsthetic, or nerve leprosy. In the first form infiltrations occur in the skin, forming nodules or tubercles, which are especially prominent about the forehead, cheeks, and ears; later, these nodules break down, forming ulcerating sores, often they occasion pictures of horrible deformity. The tubercular form is the most severe and rapidly fatal; the average duration of life is from five to ten years. In the anæsthetic form the nutrition of the skin is interfered with from implication of the nerves, leading to contractions and deformities of the members; not infrequently there is marked mutilation from the sinking in of the nose, the loss of the sight, and the

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dropping off of the fingers and toes, so that only the stumps of the hands and feet remain. In this form the course of the disease is slower, and life may be prolonged to ten or fifteen years, or longer. Some patients exhibit the characteristics of both forms (mixed leprosy).

Leprosy is an exclusively human disease; it is not inoculable to animals. It is never of spontaneous origin, but is invariably derived from the lesions or secretions of a person similarly diseased. Its development in a country previously exempt from the disease may always be traced to its importation in the person of a leper from an infected center. We know nothing definitely of the mode of infection or the channels of entrance through which the bacillus gains access to the organism—whether by direct contact, by inhalation or imbibition of the germs, or by other intermediaries. Observation proves conclusively that every leper is a possible source of danger to all with whom he may come into intimate and prolonged contact.

That leprosy is a contagious, or rather a communicable disease, there is the most abundant and conclusive proof. Upon no other possible ground can be explained its remarkably rapid dissemination in the Sandwich Islands. To heredity was formerly ascribed the principal *rôle* in propagating the disease, but a more careful observation of the facts shows that its influence is inconsiderable or *nil*. In the first place, most lepers are sterile, and their limited offspring can furnish only a small contingent of the new cases, and in the next place it has been found that the children of lepers removed from contact with their parents rarely develop the disease.

The most incontrovertible evidence of the communicability of the disease is found in the fact that many foreigners coming from countries where leprosy is unknown, and whose antecedents are free from any possible leprous taint, have fallen victims. The numbers of such cases is by no means inconsiderable, and will be again referred to in connection with the foreign element in the leper colony of Molokai.

The history of leprosy in the Sandwich Islands covers a period of about one-half a century. The tradition among the natives is that it was introduced by the Chinese, and it has always been called by them the Chinese disease (*mai paka*). According to the most authentic records, the first case recognized among the

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natives was about 1848. In 1863 the health authorities became alarmed at the rapid spread of the disease in the islands, and in 1865 the Legislative Assembly passed a law entitled "An act to prevent the spread of leprosy," which provided for the gathering together of all the lepers of the kingdom with a view to their isolation and treatment. The execution of this act was entrusted to the Board of Health. A hospital for the reception and examination of the lepers was established at Kalihi, near Honolulu, in November, 1865, and later a portion of the island of Molokai was purchased by the government to be used as a leper settlement, which was opened January, 1866. Within the first three months, 174 lepers were sent to the settlement. Since its establishment about 5,300 lepers have been received, of whom over 4,000 have died, leaving about 1,250, on January 1, 1897.

The method adopted by the sanitary authorities in dealing with leprosy is as follows. There are about twenty government physicians established in the various districts whose duty, in addition to providing for the wants of the sick poor, is to report all suspected cases of leprosy. The police officers are empowered to bring every suspected leper to the Kalihi reception hospital for examination. The examination takes place under the supervision of a board of three physicians who are selected for their especial fitness for this task. The patients are examined separately by each physician, who records his opinion. According to the verdict of the examining board the person is declared *clean*, a *suspect*, or a *leper*. Those in the first category are discharged, the suspects are kept under surveillance until either the suspicious symptoms have disappeared, or unmistakable signs of leprosy are manifest. The pronounced lepers are kept secluded and forwarded by the next boat to the leper settlement to remain there until they die.

The site chosen for the leper settlement is admirably adapted for the purpose in view. The northern shore of the island of Molokai rises abruptly to a height of from 2,000 to 4,000 feet, forming a continuous stretch of "pali" or precipices. At one point from the base of this precipitous coast-line a cape or tongue of land projects into the sea. Upon either side of this horseshoe-shaped cape are the two villages Kalawao and Kalapaupa, which, with the scattered cottages intervening, form the leper settlement. Surrounded on three sides by the ocean and walled in

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behind by the pali, it combines the security of a prison with the advantages of a sanitarium. There are nearly 700 buildings in the settlement, 380 of which belong to the Board of Health, and about 300 are owned by the lepers. There are two Catholic churches, two Protestant, and one Mormon church. The Bishop home for leper girls, under the charge of the St. Franciscan Sisters, is situated at Kalapaupa. The Baldwin home for leper boys, under the care of Brother Joseph Dutton and his assistants, a hospital and dispensary, the house of the resident physicians, and other government buildings, are located at Kalawao.

Habitations for the lepers as well as supplies of food and clothing are furnished by the government. It will thus be seen that every provision is made for the material as well as the spiritual wants of these doomed creatures. In no other country are lepers treated with so much humanity and even liberality. One-tenth of the entire annual revenues of the government has for years been devoted to the Health Department. "Over two-thirds of all moneys expended by the Health Bureau is directly spent for the segregation and support of lepers and one-half of the remaining expense is indirectly caused by the presence of leprosy." Notwithstanding the generous provision made for the support of lepers, few of them live long to enjoy it. In the first years of the establishment of the settlement the great majority of lepers died within three years of their arrival, or from the fourth to the sixth year; not 10 per cent. lived longer than the eighth year. More recently the virulent type of the disease has been modified, or rather the milder anæsthetic type predominates and the average duration of life is longer. Still, none of them recovers; they are sent here to die, and sooner or later they fulfil their sad destiny.

We may now inquire what has been the result of thirty years' crusade against this gigantic evil, which is slowly sapping the life-blood of the Hawaiian people. Is leprosy on the increase or is it in process of extermination? Taking the records of the leper settlement as a basis of comparison, there would seem to be no hopeful signs of its extinction. In the first twenty years of its establishment to January 1, 1886, 3,076 lepers were sent to the settlement; in the next ten years 2,049 were admitted. This large increase of admissions may not be due to an actual increase in the number of lepers in the islands, but to more

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active and vigorous methods of segregation. Again in the first-mentioned period the number of lepers at the settlement ranged from two to eight hundred, the average being about 500. In recent years the number has varied from 1,000 to 1,200. This large excess is explained by the health authorities on the ground that lepers are now sent here at an earlier stage of the disease and live longer than formerly. The annual death-rate among the lepers, which was formerly from 20 to 25 per centum, has been reduced to from 13 to 15 per centum.

As bearing upon the question of the increase or decline of leprosy, it is interesting to compare the opinions of the government physicians, which appear in the last report of the Board of Health. A few of them assert that there is "as much leprosy as ever"; most of them, however, sound a more hopeful note and declare that there are very few or no known cases of leprosy in their respective districts. Notwithstanding this optimistic view, the fact remains that the annual consignment of lepers to the settlement shows little diminution in number. This yearly increment of fresh admissions which goes to recruit the ranks of the rapidly dying population of Molokai is made up of previously undiscovered cases. All the indications point to the existence of a vast deal of latent leprosy, which, as the disease develops into a recognizable form, must continue for many years to come to furnish a constantly recurring series of subjects for the leper colony.

Finally, there remains to be considered the practical question of the danger to the health interests of this country involved in Hawaiian annexation. In addition to the 1,200 or more lepers at Molokai there are probably two or three times as many at large in whom the disease is latent, or in the incubative stage, yet none the less sure to develop. Each of these lepers carries with him the seeds of a deadly contagion. If it were a question of the transportation of this mass of infectious material into our midst there could be no doubt of the imminence of the danger. There is little ground, however, for apprehension on this score. The Hawaiian is essentially insular in his tastes and habits and shows little disposition to leave his native shores. It is probable, however, that with the relaxation of our strict quarantine regulations on the Pacific coast, which may be assumed would follow annexation, many lepers would, in their desire to escape Molokai,

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emigrate to this country. The principal danger would come from the establishment of more intimate commercial relations, the opening up of new enterprises, inviting capital and labor and, consequent thereon, the influx of Americans into the islands and their exposure to contact with the tainted population. That such contact is not devoid of danger is evident from the number of foreigners who contract the disease. Dr. A. Mouritz, formerly resident physician of the leper settlement, writes January 1, 1897: "Year in and year out the lepers at the settlement average between 1,100 and 1,200, chiefly Hawaiians, but within the past year or two the disease is making among the foreigners here (white people) considerable inroads."

Leprosy is no respecter of persons or nationalities. In the first 20 years of the leper settlement, among the 3,076 admissions there were 22 Chinamen and 16 whites, about one per cent. Within the past 10 years the number of foreigners has averaged from 3 to 5 per cent. Thus in the last biennial report of the Board of Health, January 1, 1896, it appears that of the 1,087 lepers at the settlement there were 974 Hawaiians, 61 half-castes, 3 foreign parentage, 29 Chinese, 6 Americans, 5 British, 1 German, 4 Portuguese, 1 Spanish, 1 Russian, 1 Negro, 1 South Sea Islander. Exclusive of the half-whites, about five per cent. were foreigners. The statistics of the leper settlement by no means convey a fair indication of the actual number of foreigners who have contracted the disease. While the Board of Health assumes to act impartially in consigning to Molokai all lepers who come within its jurisdiction, irrespective of nationality, it is well known that foreigners are given the privilege of leaving the country, so that as a rule only the poorer and more destitute are committed. Besides, it has been the policy of the Board to return to their own country, when practicable, the Chinese and Japanese laborers who become lepers. Many foreigners learn the nature of their disease from their own physicians and voluntarily return to this country or Europe for treatment. A number of such cases have come under my personal observation.

In the event of annexation, it would be idle to think of confining leprosy to the islands, or rather excluding it from this country by quarantine measures. In its earlier stage leprosy defies detection, and no system of quarantine has ever been devised which would exclude the importation of a disease so lit-

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tle manifest on ordinary inspection as leprosy; only the more advanced cases could be detected. There would seem to be no reasonable doubt that the annexation of Hawaii would create conditions favorable to the dissemination of the seeds of leprosy in this country. But for the propagation of a disease a suitable soil is an essential factor, and the question is whether the conditions of soil found here are favorable to the germination and growth of the seed. Upon this point the teachings of observation and experience throw a valuable light. Just as in the case of tuberculosis, with which leprosy presents many analogies, we find that climatic and other conditions exert a marked inhibitory influence upon its development. In the dry, cool climate of our Northwestern States, for example, leprosy does not appear to take root and flourish, but rather to die out from natural causes. Thus the 160 Norwegian lepers who years ago emigrated to this country and settled in the various Scandinavian colonies of the Northwest have not propagated the disease. It has practically died out with the death of its victims, and no new case has been traced to association with them. On the other hand the warm, moist, more tropical climate of our Southern seaboard seems favorable to the development of leprosy. There is a large number of lepers at Key West. In Louisiana there has been a notable and alarming increase of leprosy within the past few years. Dr. Blanc and Dr. Dyer, of New Orleans, have recently reported more than 150 cases as coming under their personal observation. Twenty-five years ago the disease was limited to a few cases in the Téche River district and was supposed to be practically extinct. Its recent remarkable outbreak proves that here, at least, given the seed, the conditions are favorable to its development.

Experience shows that in all countries where leprosy has become epidemic its advance is insidious; it spreads slowly, and before the health authorities awaken to the realization of the danger it has made such headway that its further progress cannot be arrested. All of these facts should be carefully considered and their importance from a sanitary point of view carefully weighed by our legislative authorities before deciding upon the annexation of Hawaii with its leprous population.

PRINCE A. MORROW.

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THE PRESENT RAILWAY SITUATION.

BY H. T. NEWCOMB.

THE present railway situation may be briefly summarized. From the standpoint of the investor in railway enterprises the salient facts are: That rates and charges for transportation services are demoralized; that the law has imposed upon railway managers the unnatural burden of maintaining a costly, wasteful, and worse than useless competitive system; that the carrying corporations are allowed to combine neither for the establishment and maintenance of just rates, nor for the prevention of unjust discriminations; that nearly 40,000 miles of railways are in the hands of receivers; that railway securities having a par value of nearly four and one-half millions of dollars receive no return of interest or dividends, and that solvent lines are practically at the mercy of those of their competitors whose bankruptcy has relieved them from the necessity of attempting to earn a return upon at least their bonded indebtedness. The view presented to those who are forced to purchase railway services is not more satisfactory. The same unnatural competition that has been instrumental in reducing so many railway corporations to bankruptcy has produced an almost infinite series of unjust discriminations against individuals, communities, and classes of traffic. While average charges per passenger and per ton of freight per mile have considerably declined, the benefit of the reduction has accrued too largely to favored shippers and communities. Shippers who have been able, alone or in combination with others, to control traffic, the revenue from which was sufficient in the aggregate to be of great importance to particular railways, have been able to demand and secure favors in the adjustment of transportation charges, while the burden of relatively unjust charges has fallen heavily upon those least able to support it. Commu-

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nities dependent upon a single line of railway have seen their business diverted to those served by two or more, yet have been constantly told that the multiplication of parallel and competing railways is economically unprofitable and socially detrimental. Those upon whom transportation charges fall most heavily are most frequently met, when they appeal for reductions, with statements showing that the railways serving them are unproductive to stockholders, if not bankrupt, conditions which are due to the enforced maintenance of a wasteful system of competition for traffic and to the lack of harmony among the several corporate entities that make up the railway system. The Interstate Commerce law has proved of little benefit. Though the amendments adopted by Congress since it was passed have been practically unimportant, the judicial interpretation it has received has left but little effective resemblance to what it was originally supposed to mean. The people will not rest supinely subject to these conditions. Congress will not by inaction confess itself impotent to successfully regulate interstate transportation, nor will investors in railway property prove ultimately incapable of convincing the general public that no righteous purpose is served by rendering unprofitable the industry of carrying persons and property by rail.

The legislative remedies tried during the last three decades have been generally based upon an assumed conflict between the respective interests of the roads and their patrons. Maximum rate laws, long and short haul restrictions, not always unproductive of mildly beneficial consequences; excessive and double taxing schemes, anti-association and anti-pooling legislation, the injustice and positively detrimental effects of which are now recognized by all wise publicists, have all had their origin in this supposed antagonism. They have also been universally based upon the theory that particular railway charges can be, and are likely to be, excessive and extortionate in themselves. As the only reasonable criterion of charges is the relation between the cost of supplying and operating railway facilities and the aggregate revenue received from disposing of the services they are created to perform, there can be no just approval or disapproval of a particular charge except in consideration of its relation to other charges. As injustice cannot be predicated of any rate except with regard to its relation to others, it is fortunate that the

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equitable adjustment of these relations is the fundamental economic and social problem, or, in other words, that the exact amount charged in any case is of but little importance, while its relation to other charges is a paramount consideration in the conduct of the business affected.

What is to be considered an equitable adjustment of the burdens of transportation? It will be far easier to enumerate some of the things that cannot coexist with such an adjustment than to give it a positive definition. Relatively just charges will not make arbitrary or unjust discriminations among railway patrons, whether considered individually, as constituting communities, or as producers or consumers of particular commodities. They will not favor a particular individual on account of his political, social, or commercial standing, the character of the business in which he is engaged, the extent or number of his commercial transactions, or what is almost the same thing, the quantity of transportation that he purchases, nor *unduly* on account of the place of his residence or location of his farm, factory, warehouse, or store. Such rates will not place a locality at commercial disadvantage on account of the number of its inhabitants, the degree of their geographical concentration, or their political affiliations, nor on account of its economic organization, the character of its productive resources, nor the number, extent, or financial condition of the railway lines by which it is served. Violations of any of these conditions may result from the action of a single road in granting similar and contemporaneous services to different individuals upon varying terms or by the establishment of different and inharmonious schedules of rates by several railways. For example, if A and B simultaneously ship equal quantities of the same article between the same points and in the same direction, and A is charged less than B, the commercial disadvantage resulting to the latter is neither more nor less on account of the route traversed by either shipment. Similarly it can make no difference to a community competing with another community for the privilege of supplying a third with some necessary food product, whether the relatively unjust rate which deprives it of equal standing in the common market is over a line owned by the corporation over whose road the shipment from the unfairly favored locality must pass. Clearly, then, it is to be desired not only that single railways charge similar rates for similar

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services, but that all railways capable of performing similar services establish and maintain the same schedules of charges. Anything less than this involves unjust discrimination and demoralization. Uniformity in charges made by independent corporations involves agreement among them upon mutually satisfactory schedules, and effective agreements upon matters so complex and subject to such rapidly varying conditions as railway charges, require continuous machinery for joint action. More than this, permanent uniformity cannot be maintained unless there be established some system which comprehends a substantial incentive for adherence to agreements once reached, and the substitution of a thorough understanding among railway managers of the genuine identity of the interests of the corporations they serve, for the superficial spirit of rivalry and conflict now too frequently prevalent. While the ownership of the railway system continues to be vested in a large number of legally separate corporations, this harmonization of interests can be achieved in a satisfactory degree only by the division of all traffic for which two or more routes are, from a commercial standpoint, practically available, among the carriers operating such routes in stipulated proportions according to contracts, the observance of which may be enforced by judicial process. Such division may, in most cases, be accomplished either by the physical division of business, or by the payment of money balances, supposed to represent the profits on the traffic carried in excess of the agreed proportions, to the line or lines not receiving their full share. In either case there exists what in common parlance is termed a "pool."

Considerations regarding the rights of investors in railway property have so far been purposely excluded; but at this point it is interesting and important to observe that the remedy indicated for the evils affecting those who purchase the use of railway facilities is that for which those who have provided and those who are charged with the duty of administering those properties have been for three decades continuously laboring. Thus the supposed antagonism between public and railway interests disappears upon more careful scrutiny; nor is it surprising, when the magnitude of the persistent error lying at the root of nearly all legislative action for full thirty years is perceived and acknowledged, that the laws

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adopted while under its influence have proved disappointing and ineffectual.

Railway pooling is not an untried or wholly novel experiment in the United States. Though pools were earliest established in this country in New England, they were comparatively unimportant and the system first attained considerable development west of the Mississippi River. One of the most interesting, on account of the exceptionally long period of its uninterrupted existence and the simplicity of its machinery, included freight and passenger traffic carried between Chicago and Omaha, and continued from 1870 until superseded by a new organization in 1882. For seventeen years prior to the passage of the Interstate Commerce law there was but one period, and that of less than twelve months' duration, in which the traffic between these points was not subject to a pooling arrangement. The principal lines engaged in carrying anthracite coal to the Atlantic seaboard arranged a pool which went into operation on December 1, 1872, continuing until August, 1876. A pooling arrangement embracing the four roads connecting Atlanta, Ga., with the seaboard was formed in December, 1873; a money pool applying to both passenger and freight traffic between Chicago or Milwaukee and Saint Paul took effect on September 1, 1874; the so-called "Cattle Eveners' Pool" and the South Western Railway Association were organized during 1875; the Southern Railway and Steamship Association during 1876, and the Trunk Line Association during 1877. During 1878 it was authoritatively stated that the Illinois Central Railroad participated in more than twenty pools in the two states of Illinois and Iowa, and that the Chicago & Alton Railway was a party to twelve such arrangements. The rapidity of the development of the pooling system and its general acceptance by railway owners and managers affords considerable evidence of the necessity of such measures; though, when considered in connection with the fact that the pools were in nearly all cases of only short duration, it is by no means evidence of the sufficiency of those adopted.

Arrangements for the division of competitive traffic or the revenue derived from it constituted the most interesting and characteristic feature of American railway administration at the date of the passage of the Interstate Commerce law. Though that law expressly prohibited all such arrangements, the manner

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in which the prohibitory clause was forced into the measure and the much greater frequency of acknowledgments of the necessity and beneficial results of pooling than of objections thereto in the testimony taken by the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, as a preliminary to action on the measure, justify the statement that there was no preponderance of public sentiment in favor of such action. Whatever public condemnation the pooling system received, aside from that inspired by the irresponsible utterances of demagogues who found attacks upon railway corporations an easy and convenient means of attaining office, was due rather to the fact that these arrangements were never permanent, and in consequence never wholly eradicated the evils they should have corrected. Though after nearly a decade spent in the study of the social aspects of railroad transportation from the standpoint of a public official, Dr. Joseph Nimmo, Jr., stated in his annual report for 1879 that railroad pooling had come to be favored by the general public because it had proved to be "the means of arresting discriminations;" and the Iowa Railroad Commission, in its report for 1878, expressed the same idea by declaring that it considered "the pool as the only agency that can compel the through traffic to bear, as it should, its proportion of the interest on the cost and the expenses of maintaining and operating the roads," Mr. Albert Fink, the organizer and official head of the most complete pooling association ever established, was at almost the same time complaining of their inadequacy and of the necessity of legislation to give them legal sanction and effect. These facts serve to direct attention toward the essential difference between pooling, as practised in the United States prior to 1887, and the arrangements that will be permitted should the Foraker or Patterson bill, or a similar measure, be adopted by Congress. Too much importance can scarcely be assigned to this distinction. The pool of 1886 was an extra-legal arrangement, dependent for execution upon the good faith of the parties, upon the violation of which none of them would venture to appeal to the courts for redress. So lacking were these arrangements in the necessary cohesive qualities that each railway considered their abrogation an inevitable incident pending which constant vigilance was necessary in order that the day of dissolution should not find it an unready or a tardy contestant in the struggle for

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traffic. The period during which a pooling contract was in operation was consequently one of armed neutrality, and, as in most cases between nations, that relation was regularly disturbed by instances of depredations by irresponsible members of the rival forces. As the apportionment of business in any pool which should follow a period of warfare would probably be based upon the proportions offered (if a tonnage pool) and carried (if a money pool) prior to the disruption of such an agreement, there was a strong incentive to take advantage of every opportunity for its violation which promised immunity from detection. Thus there was never an entire abandonment of the baneful practices of competition, there were always discriminations in favor of competitive traffic, and there were frequent periods during which all the evils of unjust discrimination operated to their fullest extent.

Whatever scheme for pooling may be finally adopted, it is certain that it will be in a very large degree free from these objections. The contracts permitted will have the express sanction of a Federal statute, and any carrier injured by the failure of another to abide by the terms of the pooling agreement may invoke judicial aid in securing whatever form of redress may be adequate. They will naturally provide for a definite period of operation, with, possibly, continuance thereafter subject to due notice of the intention of any party to withdraw. The possibility of unjust personal discriminations will be minimized by the discontinuance of separate soliciting for traffic, and the substitution of joint for independent ticket and freight agencies. Whenever the temporary divergent interests of separate bodies of stock and bondholders can be sufficiently subordinated to the general interest of all carriers in the satisfactory adjustment of the railway system to the ends for which it exists, the latter will be found to constitute a powerful agency in the elimination of unjust discriminations of all kinds, including those among competing localities and communities. When the exact proportion of competitive traffic which will fall to a particular route becomes as certain as that it will receive all of the non-competitive traffic, there will be no reason for favoring cities served by more than one road. The selfish interests of carriers will then make powerfully for justice, while such regulative instrumentalities as may be established by the public will have the advantage of dealing with a railway system that has become unified and homogeneous.

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It is not to be understood that, having re-established the right to divide competitive traffic by agreement and surrounded it with incidents making toward effectiveness, Congress can forego the further regulation of interstate railway transportation. The legacy of evil resulting from methods pursued during thirty years will prove persistent without supplemental legislation. The experience of a decade has shown no error in the principles underlying the Interstate Commerce law except that actuating the attempt to perpetuate competition. In many instances the means provided were weak and almost valueless, in others the language employed failed to express clearly the intention of Congress, but there is no reason to believe that the necessity of a board of experts in transportation, with authority to adjudicate upon matters of disagreement between the public and the railways, to investigate complaints and award suitable redress, is any less than was at first supposed. In order, however, that the labor of such a board may become of material value, there must be provided an harmonious and homogeneous railway system with which it can deal, practically as though it were a unit instead of being obliged to act separately upon a thousand corporate entities; and in addition there must be substantial finality to its conclusions in regard to those technical, economic, and social facts which, being a board of transportation experts, it is best qualified intelligently to consider and wisely to determine. Though Congress refrained, no doubt wisely and possibly in obedience to constitutional limitations, from conferring upon the Interstate Commerce Commission the powers of a Federal court, and that body must depend upon the latter for the enforcement of its decrees, the right exercised by the courts of considering each case *de novo* upon application for such enforcement, and the privilege of introducing new evidence and adopting a new line of defence extended to the railways, have been continually productive of confusion and delay. There is no constitutional objection to restricting Federal courts to a determination of the legal merits of each special case upon facts found by the Commission either on the original hearing or as supplemented by those elucidated at a rehearing, the case being remanded to the Commission for that purpose. For nearly the entire period of its existence it was supposed that the Commission had been given authority to prescribe, after due investigation, in which all inter-

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ested parties had been accorded opportunity to introduce evidence, those rates which appeared reasonable and just. A recent decision by the Supreme Court of the United States has declared that Congress did not effectually confer this power. It is important that it should be expressly granted in unmistakable terms. It should include the determination of reasonable minimum as well as maximum rates, not merely that a well-located and profitable railway shall not be made bankrupt by a reckless competitor, but in order to protect individuals and communities against the unjust discriminations that may result from too low charges by the lines serving their competitors.

The idea that the methods, accounts, *et cetera,* of quasi-public corporations are matters of public interest, in regard to which the fullest information should be at all times available to legislators and publicists generally, seems to have controlled Congress in providing for the publication of schedules of railway charges, the collection of railway statistics, and the provision for annual and special reports from the Interstate Commerce Commission. No feature of the law has worked so satisfactorily; but here, too, failure fully to appreciate the scope of the work has been productive of inadequacy in the result. The extension of statistical inquiries to depot and express companies, fast freight lines, elevator and wharf companies, and water lines engaged in interstate transportation, owing to their intimate relation with railway corporations, is absolutely prerequisite to the satisfactory statistical presentation of the business of railway transportation. There are also numerous and urgent reasons for a more thorough investigation of the financial results of railway business and for more frequent reports of this phase of the work. There has been no attempt, in this paper, to enumerate all of the changes which, it is believed, must precede a satisfactory solution of railway problems, but those only have been mentioned which seem fundamental or most important. Whatever others may be necessary will be found, if the true principle underlying the social function of transportation is understood and appreciated, to be in the direction of unifying the facilities of transportation. In other words, there must be created, from the multitude of railway corporations, something that is now presumed to exist, and that in many respects does actually exist at present—a railway system.

H. T. NEWCOMB.

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WOMAN'S POLITICAL EVOLUTION.

BY MRS. J. ELLEN FOSTER, PRESIDENT OF WOMAN'S REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE Church tells us that a sacrament is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace. When the holy sacrament is reached, only the great Oversoul can know all the ministrations of good angels, all the contests with powers of darkness, all the continuous operations of human relations, through which the inward and spiritual grace has been attained.

The student of history learns that a revolution in government is an outward and visible sign of a change in the political conditions of the people. When through revolution a people without a name becomes a state, only the long perspective of history can reveal the action and counter-action of the forces—physical, social, economic, and religious, as well as political—which fling the new flag to the breeze and marshal the new armies of peace and war.

The political economist knows that a so-called revolution in the social order is also a record of changes which have established the activities of new relations and the responsibilities of new alignments.

When society awakes to the realization that the old order is changed, that modes of thought are broadened, that habits of life are relaxed, that new social standards are set up, that new economic forces are dominant, and new political relations are aggressive, it is often forgotten that this social revolution is not the overt and aggregate act of iconoclasts and reformers, but is merely a record of the forces of progress.

This philosophy of development finds conspicuous illustration in the present status—industrial, educational, and political—of the women of the United States.

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Society applauds present-day progress, as evidenced by enlarged opportunities of labor, and increased returns for work. It includes women in these favored classes, and enumerates the hundreds of occupations they may and do fill with acceptance to employers and profit to themselves.

Women are everywhere in the industrial world: the cook, the washwoman, the seamstress, the dressmaker, the milliner, and the teacher have been joined by the army of factory women, clerks, shop-girls, stenographers, typewriters, and professional women, so that now there are few business houses of any description where women are wholly absent. Nevertheless, the notion prevails, or at least lies dormant, in the minds of most persons, that men are the breadwinners and women are the sheltered home-keepers. The facts are quite the contrary; at least, the exceptions to the rule are so many that this theory is not a sound basis of economic calculation. In the slums of the great cities the women, as a rule, are the breadwinners; the men live on the labor of the women and children, or contribute little to the family exchequer. In the higher grades of labor and of skilled workmanship there are millions of women who go to their daily toil at the sound of the bell, the shriek of the whistle and the stroke of the clock, with the same regularity and urged by the same necessity as drives the army of men. Labor statistics assert that more than three-quarters of the wage-earning women of the country not only support themselves, but are the mainstay of dependent families. Those acquainted with the thousands of faithful, honorable women in Government service in the City of Washington know this to be true of them. I charge no fault to the men of the families—misfortune and death are no respecters of persons or of sex—I merely chronicle the facts and ask that notice be taken of the wide variance between the theory of woman's industrial condition and the facts in the case.

Women were never idlers. Once they spun the yarn and wove the cloth and made the garments of their families; they sewed with their needles and counted threads in fine embroideries; they milked the cows and made butter with their own hands. On the farm in the North and the plantation in the South, the wife and the mother was the Saint Courageous in sickness, and the Lady Bountiful in calamity, to the little and sometimes isolated community where she was greatest of all because she was servant of

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all. The "women folks" economized that the boys might go to the academy in the winter, or possibly to college for a full course, or to the town to learn a trade, or to the city to go into business. Rarely did the daughter of the household go anywhere or do anything to fit herself for an independent individual existence.

How is it now? The few sheep which were kept for the use of individual families have gone to join the great flocks that graze on Western plains and give their fleeces to the buyers of the syndicates which own the land and send its product to the distant market. The spinning wheel has of necessity left its place of usefulness in the family "living room," and now with other bric-a-brac adorns the parlor of the descendent of the gentle Priscilla who sang a psalm and dreamed a dream on the quiet day when John Alden attempted the impossible task of making love for another man.

The factory has superseded the loom and the spinning wheel, and for less money and less labor the family is better clothed than in the olden time. So also with hand sewing and general housekeeping. The sewing machine, and foreigners as servants, have driven away the blessed old days when the mother and the sisters did it all, save, perhaps, the annual or semi-annual help of the visiting seamstress.

The creamery and the cheese factory and the labor of hired men make the former work of women unprofitable, and largely reduce woman's task on the farm. In the West, where farming is conducted on a large scale, immigration has brought foreign women as well as foreign men to do the work formerly done by our mothers and grandmothers.

In the towns and cities modern conveniences have lifted many burdens from woman's shoulders, and steam heating and gas for lighting and cooking have given her hours of time for other duties.

The conclusion reached is therefore irresistible that women by the changed conditions of social and industrial life find themselves removed from the duties their mothers performed; they find themselves thrust by conditions, not of their own choosing, into new relations and under new responsibilities.

There are sheltered nooks along the turbulent stream of modern American life where many women still reverently burn

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incense on the old altars of "woman's sphere"; but not less reverent are the women whose ships are in the strong current of independent industrial life, or on the crest of broad culture and wide endeavor. The necessities of self-support and family duty have carried them away from the sheltered shore, or, perhaps, they have heard the cry of those more helpless than themselves, and have sought to better the condition of orphans and widows and overworked shop-girls: the motherliness of soul which prompts to such action is as surely the gift of Heaven and a wealth and glory to the race as is the devotion of the natural mother to her offspring. That mother will follow her child the round world over, her only purpose being to serve and to save. So also the strong-hearted and strong-minded twentieth century woman is morally and mentally compelled by her Puritan heredity and present day environment, and her deep religious conviction, to do with her might what her hands find to do.

Neither are the women of to-day alone in their sometimes questioned departures from old-time exclusive duties. Husbands, brothers, and sons, a splendid nobility of American manhood, rejoicing in the grand achievements of a newly developed country, are with them in the conscious dignity of unchallenged opportunity and power. Men and women are to-day more truly united and on nobler planes of human existence than were those of any other age. Nothing is lost of real gentleness and chivalry, and whole continents of happiness to themselves and to the race are gained through their associated endeavor. Through all evolutions of condition and of progress, Nature is dominant; family affection is the controlling force in woman's nature; with the elevation of the race this force becomes increasingly potent in all human affairs. Woman's industrial condition to-day is the result of the combined forces of progress; this is a justification of the work she is doing and is also related to the broader fact that the industrial conditions of men and women are always and everywhere the foundation and the framework of national character and the soul of political constitutions.

Popular Education.—Next potent among evolutionary forces is popular education. All the children are taught in all grades of schools. Not only do the girls go to school more months in the year than their mothers did, but boys study books longer than did their sires; there is thus introduced into family life an

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appetite for general information. Some educators fear for the general good, because the girls are outstripping the boys in number and in quality of application in many schools. It is surely safe to say that co-education has brought the sister to the side of the brother, and the question now is not, how shall the girls be educated, can they bear the strain of higher education, but it is anxiously asked, how can manual training be adapted to the school system so that all the boys may be fitted to earn their living with their hands, and possess the robust manliness of tough muscle and steady nerve. The number of girl graduates from our high schools is much larger than the number of boys, and the proportion of students in our colleges and universities is all the time changing, to the advantage of the women students.

In the half-century between the work of Mary Lyon and Emma Willard—those pioneers of woman's education—and the splendid endowments of the Chicago University, to which women are admitted under no sex limitations, the average American woman has become educationally as well as socially the best type of the world's womanhood, and therefore the best human type of the world's civilization.

The college woman is just a little in advance of the average woman; she beholds the knowledge of all lands and all ages; she absorbs much and becomes not only an educated woman, but holds strong opinions and is moved by deep convictions; she moulds the ideas of men, and greatly influences public sentiment. "Public sentiment" is the atmosphere of community life; it breathes health or it carries disease. Thousands of cultivated strong women every year leave classic halls and take up the work of life in the school room, the office, the store, the shop, or—best of all—the home. Every one of these women is filled with noble desire and heroic purpose; she intends to do her duty everywhere; she will make her way; she does make her way; and society, conscious of her splendid endowments, welcomes her to any place she asks for and can worthily fill.

Woman in Philanthropy.—Slowly, all too slowly for weary limbs and aching hearts, is being evolved the perfected humanity of which the stoic dreamed, the prophet spoke, and which the Gospel of Jesus made possible. Nevertheless the evolution is progressing. Things are better than they were. Woman's presence and influence pervades this evolution.

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There were heroic women in colonial days and in the Revolutionary period. There were strong, true women who pioneered in the once new West. There were brave women in the Civil War who followed the armies to the camp and to the field, and were ministering angels to the wounded and dying in the hospitals. There were others who did double duty on the farm, and in the shop, that brothers and husbands might be free for the dreadful business of war. When peace came, the women who had plowed in the field, sewed in the home, washed at the tub, scraped lint and made bandages, and in every way possible to them had met the nation's agony—these same women, having learned the possibilities of their united ministrations outside home walls, took up the organization of missionary and temperance societies, and began reforms of many kinds. They built fountains for the thirsty and planted trees for the weary; they erected hospitals, orphan asylums, retreats in the cities, homes on the hillsides and by the sea, for waifs and overworked shop-girls; they established day nurseries and kindergartens for little children, and helped to endow colleges and universities for young men and women.

If the great philanthropies, established and wholly or in the main part conducted by women, should be destroyed in a day, the air would be filled with the lamentations of the hopeless classes, and society would be shocked with the spectacle.

As the country develops, and the living questions of how its vast areas shall be possessed by industrious, happy people press for settlement, women bring to the solution the discipline of the home, the school, and the philanthropies where the vital questions of production, distribution, and consumption have been studied according to scientific theory and illustrated by practical application.

It is impossible that women shall have carried all these interests on their hearts, and in their activities, and not be well equipped for their application in the broad domain of national economics.

Some of us are deeply concerned in these vital problems of American life. We find ourselves in the midst of conditions which, until recently, were wholly European. Mixed populations in crowded cities, and colonies of foreigners distributed through the country, give rise to apprehension in the minds of intelligent

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women. It is not possible, neither would it be right, to attempt the wholesale exclusion of these foreigners. They are the children of the Heavenly Father whom we call "Our Father." Some are of the noblest fibre; they have brought new lustre to the stars and brightness to the stripes of the dear old flag; but masses of others are windfalls of monarchial governments, the garbage of oriental civilizations, and deserters from imperialism and militarism. American women, the daughters of Revolutionary heroes, the daughters, the wives, the sisters of a later generation of heroes, know that all the interests they hold dear are to a degree affected by the political action of these men.

Thoughtful women know that the nation is a grand whole; that if one member suffers, the whole suffers; that if one is blessed, all are blessed. Women have no separate interests; if man is elevated and the general tone of society is purified, woman receives her share of advantages.

The country has made immense strides in material development during the last quarter of a century. Huge commercial enterprises have arisen like giants in armor, and have strode from ocean to ocean, leaving tracks of steel and handprints of light.

The triumphs of mind over matter stamp this period illustrious among the centuries. Within this success there hides danger. The loss of one faculty sharpens others: the blind are sensitive to touch. The cultivation of one set of faculties tends to the disuse of others. Has not the extreme cultivation of the commercial faculties permitted others as essential to national life to be blighted by disuse?

During this evolution, woman's relations to the industrial, the educational, and the philanthropic world, and her pressure toward the political world has been a savor of life unto life. Community life and national life need heart: women have much heart; out of the heart are the issues of life.

Woman in Politics.—The theory prevails that women are not an actual force in American politics. This notion is controverted by the stubborn fact that in all the Northern, and occasionally in the Southern, States women are acknowledged by political leaders to have been an effective, and, in many instances, a controlling element in late national elections and in many local political contests. In the four States of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho women now vote on all questions as fully as

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men do, and are equally eligible with men to all offices in the gift of the people. In the State of Kansas women vote at municipal elections; in Iowa tax-paying women vote on questions involving the expenditure of public moneys; in Illinois women vote for Trustees of the State University, and in more than half of the States women vote on the school question. The theory is, women do not vote; the facts are, women do vote on many questions and in many places.

As illustrating how uninformed many intelligent persons are of woman's political status, I may say that a prominent New England politician was quite surprised when told a while ago that the women of Colorado have the full franchise. This most estimable gentleman is a Republican, interested in party success; he had never heard that the women of that State were largely instrumental in redeeming the State from Populism in 1894, and doubtless he has not since heard that a larger proportion of women than of men in that State were loyal to the party of their choice in the political revolution of 1896.

It is not the purpose of this article to make an argument as to the right of women to vote: the abstract right is not questioned by many serious thinkers, and an increasing number believe that the exercise of the right would be a blessing to the home and to the State.

I seek merely to trace in outline the present situation and to show that woman is in politics, and that she is where she is, not by her own distinct volition, but she is part of the great human throng which ever presses on, urged by instinct and led by aspiration toward the sum of human welfare.

Men and women must, therefore, together solve the problems of the twentieth century. These problems are more complex than those presented to any former generation. The statecraft of the fathers was original and great. The constitution they framed has been tried in peace and war and through the reconstruction period; it awaits the crucial tests of present day attacks. The courage of early administrations was equal to their heroic needs. The battles of the Revolution and of the Civil War make brilliant pages in military history. The liberation of three million slaves, and their subsequent acquisition of civil and political rights under the law, form a procession of events unparallelled in the earth's civil achievements. The development of the country's

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material resources, so that now all the people are better fed, better clothed, and better housed than the people of any other land under the sun, is the wonder of the world. Mothers in other lands hug their babies with the passion of maternal fondness, and pray God that some good Providence may take them to America, where each one has a chance to make the most of himself. Did any American mother ever pray that her child might find a better country than this? The dearest wish of her heart is that he may rise to the level of his opportunities here.

Every student of the times and of the centuries knows that the crucial test of American institutions is yet to come. Years ago the stern iconoclast of Chelsea wrote:

> "Cease to brag to me of America, with its model institutions and constitutions. America will yet have to strain its energies and well nigh break its heart, as the rest of us have had to do, in myriad contest with pythons and mud demons before it is fit habitation for the gods. America will have her agony and her victory, though on other lines than she is quite well aware of."

This is the agony and the victory which the first decade of the twentieth century will witness. Men and women with experience and consequent power will supplement each the other's quality of ability; it will require all of every sort.

Economic questions are always most difficult of satisfactory solution because they underlie all other conditions, and because they touch every home. Only patient study of reciprocal relations and the delicate adjustment of service and its just return of benefit can calm the fevered brow of toil and swing the pendulum within the arc of brotherhood and self-interest. Woman's intellectual fibre, her mental tone, is as eminently fitted for this quality of public service as is man's ponderous force for marshalling armies, tunnelling mountains, and building railroads. It is no longer a question of man or of woman, but of quality of service, and of power to meet the world's need.

Woman is coming to the kingdom for this hour. Many popular heresies have been cradled in the home and nursed by women; but out of the home, and from woman's brain and heart shall come—is already coming—the remedy.

Woman's political power with and without the ballot has, in a few instances, wrought harm to good men and good causes; it has sometimes, in the name of righteousness, strengthened the enemies of good government. A few women in the supposed in-

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terest of woman's cause have defeated men who were opposed to that cause. These instances were phenomenal and temperamental; they in no wise are chargeable to the woman element in politics. In the main, women have wisely used their influence and discreetly applied their political power. They have been a constructive and not a destructive force.

Each year women are becoming wiser; they are learning to use their newly discovered influence. He is not an intelligent patriot or a wise politican who ignores this factor in the political equation, or thinks he can place it where he chooses. The present political influence of women is proportionately more intelligent than that of men; by this I mean that there are so few political emoluments possible to women as a return for political service that they are not tempted to think and act from hope of personal reward. In proportion as political action is intelligent and disinterested, it is independent. The present political influence of woman is intelligent, and should be so dealt with.

To those who tremble at the new order when set forth in bold outline, we say, Be not alarmed; the order is not so very new, after all. The change has been gradual and natural. No man who commands respect would go back to the old order; he would not close the schools to girls; he would not set them to spinning and weaving; he rejoices in every step by which they have come to their vantage-ground of influence.

When the serious woman sees the perils of the times, when she realizes that her children must march shoulder to shoulder with the children of anarchists, of constitution defamers, and general disrupters of the peace, she sets herself to do all she can in every way to save the country for her children and for her children's children yet unborn. Such a purpose, guided by intelligent comprehension of political relations, past and present, will bring joy and no sorrow to the nation.

The American woman of to-day is born to a glorious inheritance of honor, of education, and of opportunity. She has come into this kingdom to help dispel the clouds of political heresies, which envelope many citizens. She wishes to serve her country as she has served her home. It is the will of Heaven, and she will do it.

J. Ellen Foster.

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A REVIEW OF THE CUBAN QUESTION IN ITS ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND DIPLOMATIC ASPECTS.

BY THE HON. HANNIS TAYLOR, LATE MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES TO SPAIN.

SINCE the conclusion of my term of office as Minister to Spain I have been earnestly solicited by many who feel a special interest in the Cuban question to make a review, in a somewhat systematic form, of the present aspects of that question in the light of my special experience and observation. The wise rule under which our Department of State publishes every year our diplomatic correspondence with foreign nations puts everyone into possession of our current diplomatic history, except as to a few transactions concerning which prudence requires that secrecy should be for a time preserved. Subject to that limitation only, I now have, of course, an equal right with every other citizen to discuss the merits of a question with which I was once in official contact, provided I deem it wise and patriotic to do so. Certainly no one has had a better opportunity to study this difficult problem, from a Spanish point of view, than myself, and I have thus been thoroughly convinced that Spanish statesmanship is perfectly impotent to solve it either promptly or wisely.

Spain herself has demonstrated that she is powerless either to conciliate Cuba or to conquer it. Her sovereignty over it is, in my humble judgment, now extinct "for all purposes of its rightful existence," and the "hopeless struggle for its re-establishment has degenerated into a strife which means nothing more than the useless sacrifice of human life and the utter destruction of the very subject matter of the conflict itself."* This deplorable

*President Cleveland's message to second session of Fifty-fourth Congress.

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state of things is not only shocking to humanity, but it is a special and grievous burden to the people of the United States, by reason of their intimate commercial and social relations and sympathies with the people of an island so near to our coast line as to be almost a part of our territory. Our commerce with Cuba, amounting annually at the beginning of the present war to $100,000,000, has been nearly wiped out. The millions of American capital invested in the island have been either destroyed or rendered unproductive; many of our citizens reduced to absolute want have been forced to appeal to Congress for aid; while too many of them have found their way into Spanish dungeons from which some have been able to escape only through the door of death. But, last and worst of all, our peace as a nation is broken and disquieted by an endless strife that enters as a potent factor into our internal politics. With a patience almost unexampled we endured all such evils during the period of the great war that began at Yara in 1868, and ended ten years later with the treaty of Zanjon; then came the little war; and finally the last great war that has now been in progress for more than two years and a half. Thus we have been called upon to witness nearly fifteen years of war in Cuba out of the last twenty-nine. Throughout the present struggle, apart from our commercial losses, we have been in a state of semi-war with Spain; a large part of our fleet has become a coastguard; and our diplomatic relations have been so strained that for more than a year the Spanish government deemed it necessary to guard my place of residence with soldiers, night and day. Since my departure this impossible state of things has become still more acute, and the uncertainty thus produced is the one obstacle in the path of the long-hoped-for prosperity just dawning upon us. Business men are plainly stating to each other that such uncertainty now hangs like a cloud over all future transactions.

It is great folly to suppose that the Cuban question is something that we can set aside if we will and go about our own business. It has intruded itself into our national affairs with all its disturbing consequences, and it is here to stay until we take hold of it and solve it wisely, not only in our own interest but in that of humanity. In the light of these facts I deem it my duty to lay before my countrymen my humble testimony upon the whole subject-matter, in the hope that the same may aid them in taking

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wise and just action in the premises. So far as I know, no one has ever charged me with a lack of patience or moderation in the midst of the trying scenes through which I have passed; and I bear cheerful testimony to the fact that the Spanish people have treated me throughout with perfect respect. I was, therefore, able to depart without a tinge of conscious prejudice against a nation for which I entertain in many respects the very highest admiration. For two years I pleaded in vain with the statesmen of Spain in the hope of turning them from a path which I was sure would end in disaster. Therefore, whatever I may now feel compelled to say of a character apparently hostile to that country will be said in sorrow, not in anger.

REAL PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT DOES NOT EXIST IN SPAIN.

In Spain to a greater extent than in any other country in Europe the present is bound up with the past; her greatest misfortune is that the French Revolution, terrible as it was, did not sweep on to Gibraltar. In that way she lost the opportunity of being really emancipated from her absolutist political traditions, to which she is still a victim. Although some of her progressive statesmen have attempted to robe her in modern political forms the effort has not been fruitful in practical results. The so-called system of representative government by which absolute monarchy was supposed to be superseded early in the century is nothing but an illusion; Spain has to-day no national assembly which can act as a free and real organ of the national will. The obvious and indisputable cause of that condition of things is the fact that those who compose the two chambers of the Cortes are not the free choice of the people themselves. What purport to be national elections are always controlled by the political party holding the executive power, which so manipulates the electoral machinery by the use of fraud and undue influence as to predetermine the result. The people look listlessly on while the government officials, aided by the *caciques*, employ all the necessary methods to return as many of the government nominees as its managers deem necessary; and if any officious person attempts to object he is simply sent to jail. As both parties employ the same methods there is no recrimination; and if some unruly person like Cabriñana is imprudent enough to contest an election the matter

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is silently adjusted by compromise. The natural result is that national assemblies thus chosen possess no real political authority; they are simply dead bodies into which the living spirit of popular approval never enters, and as such of course they cannot confer upon ministries the right to rule. Strange and anomalous as the statement may seem to be, the fact that a Spanish ministry is supported by overwhelming majorities in both branches of the Cortes is considered no reason why it should continue in power if a coterie of military officers or a combination of newspapers makes an adverse demonstration at Madrid. At the beginning of the present war Señor Sagasta, with large majorities in the Cortes over all the opposing parties combined, resigned power to Señor Canovas the moment that certain generals, ever ready to meddle in political affairs, began to be troublesome; and in the crisis last resolved before his death Señor Canovas himself, with majorities in the Cortes as large as those now controlled by Lord Salisbury, felt compelled simply by the opposition of certain newspapers to resign office and to call upon the Queen Regent to say whether or no he should continue to carry on the government. Such appeals to what is called the "*Poder Moderador*" reveal the all-important fact that the supreme powers of the state to-day reside in the crown and not in the legislature. The administration of affairs is still carried on under the old bureaucratic system by certain notables named by the crown, who call upon the phantom body known as the Cortes to clothe their acts in the forms of legality. In the light of these incontestable facts it is easy to understand that Spain cannot give to her colonies what she does not herself enjoy—popular government, as that term is now understood throughout the world.

SPAIN'S PATERNAL SYSTEM OF COLONIAL GOVERNMENT AND ITS FRUITS.

Spain's powerlessness to establish in recent times a genuine national assembly, into which her energies could be concentrated, goes far to explain why she has never been able to emancipate her colonies from the baneful system of paternalism, by which from their very foundation their progress has been obstructed and their people oppressed. All who are familiar with the history of modern colonization know that it really begins with the work of the Spanish adventurers in the New World,

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who for a time won for their country the first place "as the discoverer, conqueror, and colonizer of new lands." Stimulated mainly by the desire to satisfy their thirst for silver and gold, the first-comers rapidly advanced their conquests, while the extension of their permanent settlements was gradual and slow. But when such permanent settlements were finally made, they were, unfortunately, subjected to a system of paternalism that rested upon the idea that colonists are mere children or slaves to be governed and controlled as such by a bureau at the metropolis. France, who about the same time possessed herself of that princely domain that stretched itself west of the Alleghanies from New Orleans to Quebec, fell into the same fatal error; and the inherent weakness and hopelessness of governing distant colonies paternally was first revealed when the French colonial system came in contact with the English, which rested upon a set of self-founded and self-governing communities cradled in self-reliance and practical independence by the very circumstances of their origin. By the very nature of their training a conflict between the two systems could not be doubtful. When the new self-governing soldiery, reared in the New England towns and the Southern counties, went out under the lead of the mother country to do battle with a colonial power that had never been trained in self-reliance, it "was like a Titan overthrowing a cripple"; France's dream of empire in the West was broken, and she was forced to retire from North America. Under a much lighter pressure Spain was forced to give up all of her vast colonial possessions on the main land, stretching at one time from Paraguay to California. The impulse in favor of entire emancipation which animated the movement at Caracas in 1810 was consummated by the independence of Mexico in 1829. The motive which prompted this widespread revolt is to be found in the irrational selfishness that impelled Spain to regard her colonies simply as instruments to be employed solely for what she conceived to be the interests of the metropolis. Her colonial system of restriction and repression as finally settled rested on two corner-stones; the one commercial, the other political. Under the mercantile system developed in Spain in the sixteenth century, and which England copied, it was held that colonists were to be prohibited under heavy penalties from trading except with the mother country;

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while under the political system put in force about the same time the government of the colonies was retained by the crown at Madrid, and administered in the colonies by an oligarchy of home-bred Spaniards sent out for that express purpose. By the fierce and unbending enforcement of these two selfish and irrational principles Spain has lost all of her colonies in the New World except Cuba and Porto Rico, the first of which is now writhing in the death agony to which she has been reduced by their extreme application.

ECONOMIC ASPECT OF THE CUBAN QUESTION.

From the very beginning Cuba, despite her inestimable value and fidelity, has always been regarded by Spain, as Tacitus tells us Britain was regarded by Rome, simply as a place to be plundered and enslaved. Upon her devoted head has always fallen the full force of the mother-country's restrictive and repressive policy, commercial and political. Whatever of government she has to-day is carried on by an oligarchy of home-bred Spaniards directed from Madrid through a governor-general, who takes from her wasted treasury in pay and allowances, civil and military, a sum nearly twice as great as the pay of the President of the United States; while the economic laws which govern the now pitiful fragment of her once splendid commerce are constructed not in her interest but in that of the manufacturers of Catalonia, who regard her as a conquered province to be manipulated for their benefit. In that fact is embodied the essence of the Cuban question which, in its final analysis, is more economic than political. Despite all the bad usage to which she has been subjected by her rulers, Cuba, by virtue of her exceeding richness, had been able to accumulate wealth which at the beginning of the present war amounted to $850,000,000, or about $531 *per capita*. At the same date her total commercial movement amounted to $170,458,553, of which $69,444,287 represented imports and $101,014,266 exports. When these exports, out of which the Cuban people live, are analyzed it appears that four-fifths at least of the whole is made up of the proceeds of the sugar crop, the remaining one-fifth being composed of tobacco and other miscellaneous items. Cuba, therefore, is simply a great cane-sugar estate whose tenants depend for existence upon the proceeds of that industry. In the days when the sugar of commerce was made from cane only, Cuba was comparatively independent, because the markets of the world were

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open to her. But when sugar made of beets came into competition with that made of cane her trade horizon began to narrow; and that process has gone on until, with the exception of a small quantity sold to Spain herself, Cuban sugars have been driven from every market in Europe. The result is that the one remaining market in which Cuba can now sell the one crop without which she cannot exist, is that offered by the United States. No matter whether our tariffs are high or low, into our custom houses must go the one product upon which Cuba is dependent for bread. It would seem, therefore, but just that the Cuban exporter thus limited to a single market should be permitted at least to buy in that market the manufactured articles and products which are for him the necessities of life. But, alas! even that boon is to a great extent denied him. In contemplation of Spanish tariff laws the primary object of his existence is to support the manufacturers of far-off Catalonia with whom he has no community of interest.

By the natural laws of trade the Cuban exporter is compelled to sell his one great product in ports where there is a tariff against him that any day may be made prohibitory, while by the restrictive commercial policy of the mother country he is forced to send a large part of his income thus derived over 3,000 miles of sea in order to reinvest it at a great loss in the products of Spanish protected manufactures. Thus overburdened by hostile tariffs and by the loss of freight, insurance, and exchange incident to the necessity of buying in a remote and unfavorable market, the Cuban producer has been ground to death between the upper and the nether millstone. The only thing which of late years has mitigated this sad condition of things was the reciprocity arrangements with the United States, the last of which expired with the passage of the Wilson Bill on the 27th of August, 1894. There can be no doubt that the economic crisis that followed that event precipitated the present revolution. When exposed without mitigation to two systems of hostile tariffs, at a time when the price of cane sugar had been reduced by competition to a very low point, the Cuban producers threw up their hands in despair, and the bands of laborers thus deprived of work were the first to swell the ranks of the insurgents. That fact was first impressed upon me by one of the ablest members of our consular service who was in Cuba at the time; and his statement has since been fully

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confirmed by the Spanish government itself in a recent official publication in English in which the admission is made that the present revolt was "soon increased in magnitude, owing to the great number of negro laborers who were idle on account of a monetary crisis due to the low price of sugar." When, therefore, we arrive at the final cause that drove the Cubans into the present revolution, we discover that the rising really grew out of a struggle for bread—a struggle for bread in one of the most favored spots in the world, produced in the main by economic laws enacted by the parliament of the mother country still wedded to the obsolete doctrine that the commerce of a colony is a possession which the parent state has a right to manipulate in its own interest regardless of the fate of the colony itself. It is, therefore, plain that if the whole fabric of political and military oppression under which Cuba is now dying could be removed at a blow, the great economic difficulty would still remain, sufficient in itself to make her a desert, unless the power to enact commercial and economic laws is transferred, as in all the great English colonies, from the home parliament to a Cuban legislature.

POLITICAL ASPECT OF THE CUBAN QUESTION.

Having now indicated in general terms the nature of the economic question dominant in Cuba at the beginning of the present revolt, of which it was the direct and immediate cause, let us turn to the political question involved in the methods by which the island is governed by the parent state. The only unit of local political organization known to Spanish law is the *municipio* (the city or town), whose governing body is the *ayuntamiento* (the city or town council), whose powers of local taxation and legislation are very insignificant when compared with those vested in the municipal corporations known to English and American law. As the official publication recently put forth by the Spanish government has happily stated it: "Thus in the Spanish paternal method of keeping the colonies closely bound to the metropolis we find reflected the racial characteristic of close family ties, whereas the individual love of independence, which is a salient trait of Anglo-Saxon peoples, has shaped after a different pattern the formation, growth, and development of English-speaking colonies."

In Cuba, as elsewhere, the Spanish racial instinct founded

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cities and towns of the home type, and in the course of time the island was divided into colonies which were united under a system of central administration absolutely directed by home-bred Spanish officials sent from the Peninsula and subject to the orders of the government at Madrid. That system of autocratic and paternal administration may be said to have reached its full growth with the promulgation of the royal decree of June 9, 1878, by which the island was divided into the six provinces that now exist. The mainspring, the dominant force, in such a colonial system is the governor-general, who represents the supreme civil and military power. Under normal conditions the only functionaries who can be regarded as anything like a restraint upon his authority are his home-bred Spanish subordinates who stand at the head of the departments and who constitute collectively what is called a central council of administration, an advisory body whose views the governor-general can always reject whenever they happen to conflict with his own. Under the system as it still exists in Cuba the island is given the smallest possible control over its own affairs. The old restrictive principle by which its commerce is manipulated in the interest of the mother country remains in full force—every tariff, every treaty affecting Cuba is made at Madrid. The old paternal principle that has always given the local government of the island absolutely into the hands of Peninsular Spaniards is also in full force; every Cuban budget is made up for the island by them before it is submitted for approval or rejection at Madrid. The most oppressive part of this system of paternalism has ever been the governors-general who, in the early days, seem to have been regarded as very disreputable men. At least such is the inference to be drawn from one of the highest and most modern of Spanish historical authorities,* from which we learn that "almost all the governors had been deposed and expelled. Some, such as Gaspar de Torres, were real highwaymen." The leading journals of Spain to-day, such as the *Imparcial*, the *Heraldo*, and the *Liberal*, have lately published accusations against the present governor-general, Weyler, in which the world has been told that he is more ruthless and unscrupulous even than Gaspar de Torres. It would hardly be respectful for us to reject the testimony of Spanish historians and journalists on these points. I have attempted to emphasize

* *Dic.-Enc. Hisp. Am. toma* 5, p. 1467.

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these facts in order to dispel the illusion, if it anywhere exists, that there has ever been any real mitigation in Cuba of the primitive system of Spanish paternalism. That system was in full force when the present war began, and it would be in full force to-day if it had not been suspended by the military despotism under which Weyler has been striving to establish in Cuba "the order that reigned at Warsaw."

But at this point the suggestion will be made, no doubt, that I have overlooked the fact that in 1881 the Spanish constitution of 1876 was proclaimed in Cuba, and that as a consequence Cuban senators and deputies have since been admitted and still sit in the Cortes at Madrid. The idea that the island has thus been clothed with any real authority to regulate its own affairs does not enter for a moment into the minds of those familiar with the incontestable facts. In the first place, not only the current affairs of Cuba but great organic concerns are regulated as a general rule by royal decrees, and not by acts approved by the Cortes. For example, the majestic fabric of reform with which Señor Canovas lately coquetted with Cuba was simply the creation of his own pen, and embodied in a royal decree countersigned by the Queen Regent. In the second place, as heretofore pointed out, and as this very example proves, the Cortes of to-day is merely a phantom body, with no real authority beyond the power to give the forms of law to royal edicts, as the English parliament did in the latter days of Henry VIII. In the third place, both of the great monarchial parties that uphold the present dynasty agree in the conclusion that Cuba cannot be given anything like real autonomous colonial government, as that term is understood throughout the English-speaking world. It would therefore be impossible for the handful of Cuban deputies in the Spanish Cortes to repeat Irish tactics by playing off one of the great parties against the other, even if they were independent representatives devoted to the cause of home rule. As a matter of fact, they are generally mere men of straw, nominees of the home government, selected and returned by the governor-general to do its bidding. That the present Cuban representatives in the Cortes were returned by General Weyler at the dictation of Señor Canovas can be proven, if necessary, by the recorded testimony of Señor Sagasta, who made at the time a sharp protest based upon that fact.

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If it be true, then, that Spain has never really done anything to modify the primitive system of paternalism by which the ever-faithful isle has been goaded into revolt by reason of the crushing restrictions imposed by the metropolis upon her natural right to regulate her economic interests and her local political life, the question of questions that remains is this: Does she really intend to end the dreadful strife now in progress by the making of adequate reforms in the near future? The ministry lately charged with the direction of Spanish affairs announced immediately after the tragic death of Señor Canovas del Castillo their unalterable purpose to prosecute his policy in Cuba just as if he were still alive; while the devoted and able Spanish minister at Washington at the same time declared that the ideas of Señor Canovas would live after him and govern Spain just as if he were present in the flesh. Any attempt, therefore, to answer the question just propounded must take into account the character, ideas, and motives of the remarkable, many-sided man who for a quarter of a century governed Spain as completely as ever Richelieu governed France.

After four years of careful observation of the mental and moral make-up of Señor Canovas del Castillo, I cannot draw of him other than a flattering picture, because, despite his one great mental defect, I was a genuine admirer of his genius. And I believe that few of his best friends will deny in their hearts what I have to say of him. A child of the middle class, he came into life under circumstances that should have embued him with popular sympathies; and his strong and precocious mind was soon subjected to a system of academic training that culminated in a brilliant career at the university. As he appeared in his famous library surrounded by books in every tongue, one could easily fancy that he was an ideal statesman whose one thought was to solve the problems of the present by the learning and experience of the past. With the history of all lands he was profoundly familiar, and as a student of the science of politics he had few superiors. Thus equipped, he marched into the political arena where his iron will, his superb courage, his consummate knowledge of men, his incisive eloquence, his caustic wit, his fidelity to his friends, his perfect conception of the mental temper of his country, to which he was devoted, gave him such a superiority over all rivals that he governed Spain, no matter whether in or

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out of office. In the forum of debate he was as supreme as the famous Espada Guerita in the Plaza de Toros. Even when he led the Opposition no one dared to do anything without consulting him. The masterful force of the man was fully revealed in his leonine physiognomy; and, although as ugly as Mirabeau, there was a mesmeric charm about his manner that was sure to put a spell upon you. The one great defect in the organization of this subtle, high-thoughted, powerful personality was embodied in the fact that he was at heart a Spaniard of the past, an absolutist, a Cardinal Ximenez de Cesnaros masquerading in the garb of the nineteenth century. And yet his perception was so acute that he clearly understood that even in Spain the ancient principles of absolutism must be concealed beneath the constitutional forms that prevail to-day. As the author, the draftsman of the Spanish constitution of 1876, he has formulated principles that will satisfy the most exacting student of representative government; as a practical statesman, he emasculated his creation by taking away from the Cortes the power to represent the nation and to express its will. The fundamental principle which Señor Canovas continually impressed upon his countrymen was that the supreme powers of the state are vested in the crown and not in the Cortes; and to that idea, of course, he was as much devoted in colonial as in home affairs. After a careful study of the man in the light of his history, I cannot doubt that it was his settled purpose to govern the remaining colonies of Spain under the old paternal system, conceding nothing in the way of real autonomy except a few empty forms so designed as to conceal his real purpose. And I have very good reason to know that the enticing generalities embodied in the royal decree of February 4, 1897, in which he promised that some kind of a system of self-government should be given to Cuba, at some time in the future, were put forth under pressure as a mere *coup de théâtre* to divert and satisfy public opinion in the United States until Weyler could reduce the island to absolute subjection. I can at present state only part of the facts upon which that conclusion rests, trusting to time to vindicate it completely.

The first and really the only honest effort ever made in Spain to give to Cuba anything like a genuine system of self-government was that embodied in the reform bill drafted by Señor

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Maura, then Minister for the Colonies, and submitted in 1893 for discussion in the Cortes, where the very genuineness of the attempt foredoomed it to failure. The Maura law was never passed; its author went out of office and was succeeded by Señor Abarzuza, an amiable gentleman who was charged with the task of emasculating the work of his predecessor. So perfectly was that task accomplished that in February, 1895, the Abarzuza law passed both houses of the Cortes unanimously. Ten days thereafter the Cuban insurgents rose in arms and began the present revolt. The plain and simple explanation of that event is to be found in the fact that the passage of the sham Abarzuza law finally convinced the Cuban leaders that no real amelioration of their condition was to be expected from the mother-country. As heretofore explained, at that moment there existed in the island an economic crisis intensified by Spain's restrictive commercial system; there was, as the Spanish government now admits, great suffering among the "laborers who were idle on account of a monetary crisis due to the low price of sugar"; the people were crying for bread. To that cry Spain responded by offering a stone in the form of the Abarzuza law, which was too worthless to excite even the flattery of hope. The only thing like a local legislature that it proposed to create was a "Council of Administration," half of whose members were to be appointed by the crown, the other half to be elective. The presiding officer of the body was to be the governor-general, who was expressly authorized not only to suspend the council as a whole, but also to "suspend individual members of the council of administration as long as a number of councillors sufficient to form a quorum remains." This phantom body, which the "vice-royal patron" could set aside at will, was only endowed with advisory powers. Whatever it might do was expressly declared to be subject to "the supervision and to the powers inherent in the sovereignty of the nation, which are reserved by law to the supreme government." Thus everything was left just as it was before. If the governor-general saw fit to permit this advisory council to act at all, the supreme government reserved the right to annul its proceedings. And yet that is the only form of a local legislature that Spain has so far actually offered to Cuba. Why, then, should anybody wonder that the Abarzuza law should have been contemptuously

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set aside at the beginning of the conflict as unworthy of consideration?

Such was the condition of things when Señor Sagasta, the liberal Premier then in power, was called upon to put down the present revolt at the point of the sword. Experienced and adroit as he is as a mere political leader in quiet times, he was not considered capable of facing a storm—an estimate of his ability which no one accepted more promptly than himself. Although he had at his back large majorities in both houses of the impotent Cortes, he was intimidated by a very digraceful attempt made by a coterie of army officers at Madrid to forcibly suppress the liberty of the press. Instead of promptly sending the offenders to a court martial, he threw up his hands in despair and appealed to Señor Canovas as the natural guardian of the realm to take charge of the ship of state. Not for one moment did Señor Canovas hesitate or falter; with a cool resolve that would have done honor to Stafford, he entered upon his task with the clear and emphatic understanding that his policy was to be "thorough." He condensed his whole programme into seven words. "The last dollar and the last man," he said, was the only response he would ever make to those who had challenged the sovereignty of Spain in arms; until the rising should be absolutely crushed out he declared that no concession whatever should be made in the way of reform. Only those who have watched his course upon the spot can entirely appreciate the herculean effort he made to keep his word. After having majorities returned to the Cortes in the usual way, he dictated a set of statutes passed with little debate, putting at his disposal all the financial and military resources of the kingdom. In everything he had his way as completely as if he were dictator in name; and the terrible energy he displayed in transporting two hundred thousand armed men over three thousand miles of sea attested the fact that he was a born administrator. He was aided, it is true, by an able ministry, composed of his devoted followers who were ever ready to accept his commands as law without a whisper. There was only one man upon his horizon who could be considered in any sense a rival, and that was General Martinez Campos, the Governor-General of Cuba, who was the trusted counsellor and friend of the Queen Regent, and a special favorite of the army and the nation. If General Campos had been permitted to go on and

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settle the present insurrection by means of justice and conciliation, as he did the last, there could have been no doubt as to who would have been the hero of the hour. But that was not to be. Señor Canovas tolerated no rivals; he permitted no man in his ranks to hold either ideas or policies in conflict with his own. And so, as the Abarzuza law provided as of old that the governor-general of Cuba shall "be appointed and removed by the president of the council of ministers," it was easy to substitute for Campos the new military chief who was down to the Premier's death the blind instrument of his will.

Before this fresh honor was cast upon him General Weyler had already lifted himself to a bad eminence as a brutal and corrupt soldier by virtue of acts some of which Spaniards themselves tell you cannot be put in print. An issue of the greatest newspaper in Spain, *El Imparcial*, was suppressed by the government not long ago because it dared to publish a part of his history. If Spaniards themselves can be believed, no more ruthless soldier than Weyler ever rode at the head of Spanish battalions since the dark days when Alva with his bloody hands strove to crush the life out of the Low Countries. The substitution of such a man for the brave, the wise, the chivalrous Campos was the certain harbinger of the carnival of death and destruction that has since swept like a simoom over what was once the fairest garden of the New World. And yet mankind has looked patiently on except when a cry of indignation has broken from the people of the United States harrowed by the tragic and inhuman scenes enacted almost in sight of their very shores. Despite such demonstrations, however, Señor Canovas marched steadily on with his work of conquest without concession until one day something happened—just what it was time must tell. In the meantime we can only indulge in conjecture based upon a few known facts, supplemented by the gossip of the newspaper press. We do know that after the death of Maceo near the end of last year, attended as it was by the pathetic fate of the brave young son of faithful old Gomez, had drawn together a great meeting at New York in favor of the Cuban cause headed by many of the first citizens of the metropolis, the government of Señor Canovas intimated for the first time its purpose to mitigate the strife by promulgating reforms. As a *ballon d'essai*, what purported to be reforms for the island of Porto Rico were published in the *Gazette* on the

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first of January, 1897, and shortly thereafter the rumor went forth that Señor Canovas was busy in his closet drafting genuine reforms for Cuba; and on the fourth of February the royal decree in which they were embodied was proclaimed as a great event.

How the man of blood and iron had thus been suddenly converted from the error of his way was not clear at the time to those who were most familiar with his inflexible temper; it did not seem to occur to them that "he might have seen a hand that they could not see, that he might have heard a voice they did not hear." Certain it is that he either saw or heard something that convinced him that the time had come for him "to piece out the lion's skin with the fox's." And only a man of his consummate art could have performed the feat with such rapidity and dexterity. The plan to extend and give a wider scope to the Abarzuza law of 1895, embodied by Señor Canovas in the royal decree just referred to, is like his constitution of 1876; for the uninitiated it is fair to look upon, it is plausible on its face. But for those who understand its real character it is subject to three fatal objections. In the first place, it is an attempt by a mere royal edict to repeal a scheme of law enacted by the Cortes and to substitute in its stead one more comprehensive. It is just what an attempt would be upon the part of the English privy council to supersede the parliamentary statute by which Canada is governed by one of its own making. It was admitted, however, by the government of Señor Canovas that this plan could have no legal validity unless it should be ratified by the Cortes in a bill of indemnity, which I am told was afterward passed. In the second place, if the royal decree in question is now valid, it can of course be revoked and annulled at any moment by the power that made it. In the third place, the plan only proposes to lay down general principles (*bases*), which are hereafter to "be amplified and developed by means of rules and regulations." In other words, Señor Canovas' plan of reform, if it should ever be put into force, will mean something or nothing, according to the nature of the "rules and regulations" to be invented by the governor-general at the critical moment. It is hardly necessary to suggest that in that way the whole scheme can be instantly reduced to so much waste paper.

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The one indispensable guarantee of the sincerity of his intentions Señor Canovas obstinately withheld from his shadowy creation. Instead of sending at once General Campos or some other of his kind to supersede Weyler, he met with a defiant refusal every attempt to bring about that result. So strong was the national feeling upon the subject not long ago that a cabinet crisis ensued whose solution turned upon that question alone. The event was precipitated by a buffet given to a noisy senator who had persistently harassed the Minister of State, the Duke of Tetuan, a Spanish O'Donnell, whose noble and generous nature has made him a prince of gentlemen for whom I entertain the greatest respect and affection. This trifling episode was the straw that finally determined Señor Canovas to ignore as usual his great majorities in the Cortes, and to appeal to the Queen Regent, as the "*Poder Moderador*," to say whether or no he should continue to carry on the government of the country in accordance with his ideas. For days the nation waited with bated breath, for everyone perfectly understood that upon the decision of a noble and lonely woman hung the fate not only of Cuba but perhaps of the dynasty itself. The leading papers all emphasized the fact that there was but one question at issue, and that was whether there should be an instant change in the supreme command in Cuba, and a reversal of the whole policy of coercion without concession. At last the rumor gained almost universal credence that the Queen had resolved to call Señor Sagasta, and that he would instantly supersede Weyler with either Campos or Blanco. When expectation was thus at fever heat the capital was startled by the announcement that the Queen had resolved to retain Señor Canovas with his cabinet unchanged, and that she had thus emphatically approved his entire Cuban policy. And on the next day the triumphant Premier coolly assured the representatives of the press that there could be no question of the recall of General Weyler, as he perfectly represented the policy of the home government. Thus Señor Canovas at last showed his real hand, and in its palm was written in letters of blood his unalterable purpose to adhere to his original threat to crush the Cuban revolt by the unaided force of arms. Not the slightest change was ever made in that resolve down to his sudden and shocking death; and after that event General Azcárraga firmly rejected the idea that

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the policy of his predecessor, to which he always gave his hearty approval, would be modified in any material particular.

Since the failure of that honest and able soldier, who does not pretend to be a politician, to combine the warring conservative factions as a working unit, the Queen Regent has deemed it wise to recall Señor Sagasta to power, and the fact is already settled that Weyler is to be superseded in Cuba by Blanco. The probable effect of these changes upon the future of the Cuban problem has, therefore, become a subject of great practical interest. Whenever the question has been submitted to me I have invariably answered that I could not find in such changes anything upon which to base a hope for better things in the near future, for two reasons. In the first place, a mere change in the person who fills the premiership at Madrid amounts to nothing unless it signifies a change of policy. Is there any reason to believe that Señor Sagasta contemplates any substantial departure from the Cuban policy pursued by Señor Canovas? During the crisis that took place shortly before the death of that statesman Señor Sagasta was forced to show his hand upon that subject by a general demand that called upon him to define his ideas and intentions in that regard so clearly as to make them intelligible to everybody. His response was a cautious and timid manifesto that was received in the streets of Madrid almost with derision. Señor Canovas, ever ready with a stinging epigram, declared to the press that if his rival would withdraw a few phrases offensive to himself personally he was willing to sign the manifesto and reissue it as his own. The fact was that Sagasta had simply declared his purpose, if recalled to power, to follow meekly in the footsteps of Canovas, so far as Cuba is concerned. If any further proof is required of the utter unwillingness of Sagasta to grant anything like real autonomy to Cuba, it may be found in the fact that he is responsible for the sham Abarzuza law, of which enough has been said already.

It may be that the substitution of Blanco for Weyler is intended as a confession that the barbarous methods of warfare prosecuted by the latter are to be abandoned as a failure. But such a confession does not mean that strenuous efforts to prolong the war are not still to be made upon the old and hopeless basis of conquest without concession. In the second place, no matter

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how willing Señor Sagasta might be to settle the war by a liberal grant to Cuba in the way of self-government, it would be folly for him to attempt to make such a grant as the Spanish nation as a whole would promptly repudiate. In the perverted national sentiment upon that subject is imbedded the real difficulty. I am satisfied, after careful investigation, that the ruling classes in Spain, civil, clerical, and military, are resolved, regardless of party, to refuse to make any such concessions to their rebellious colonists as would meet with their acceptance. I cannot doubt that any ministry that dares to undertake such a perilous enterprise will be at once discredited and driven from office; and it will be great weakness upon our part to be misled by any false hopes or promises in that regard.

The truth is that Spanish statesmen have no clear conception of the real meaning of the term "autonomous colonial government"; and the Spanish people are almost a unit in their resolve to lose Cuba by force of arms rather than permit such a concession to be made. Therefore I have said Spanish statesmanship is impotent to solve the pending problem; it has no idea beyond the blind prosecution of the dreadful "strife which means nothing more than the useless sacrifice of human life and the utter destruction of the very subject-matter of the conflict" itself. In the presence of the final issue of death and destruction thus sharply presented by Spain herself, the people of the United States must take counsel as to their moral and legal rights in the premises under those incontestable principles of international law that govern the New World.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE AS IT NOW EXISTS.

Hardly had we entered into the family of nations when the conservative founders of the republic became conscious of the fact that, by the legitimate force of natural law, we had been lifted to a position of supreme influence in the affairs of the New World. Not long after that position had become an accomplished fact, President Monroe, counselled by both Jefferson and Madison, was called upon to apply the new principle of international law necessarily resulting from our new position to two notable cases, which are instructive because they embody the embryo of a doctrine destined to grow with our growth and to widen with our destiny. Only superficial students of the science of jurisprudence who have never studied it in the light of its history imagine that

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new principles of law come into being fully developed and fully armed, like Minerva from the brain of Jove. The great system of Roman law, extended by the use of a legal fiction to the greater part of the ancient world, was at the outset simply the municipal code of a single city; the equitable jurisdiction of the English chancellor, which came into being as the means of adapting the unelastic code of customary law to the ever-increasing wants of a progressive society, is still in process of evolution; while the potent principle called the balance of power, by which the European nations guard the peace of the Old World, has just been applied by them in a novel form in order to save Greece from the iron heel of her Turkish oppressors. Who, then, shall attempt to say that the Monroe doctrine, that bears to the New World identically the same relation that the balance of power bears to the Old, shall not be developed and applied in like manner. Nothing is more remarkable about that doctrine than the mature form in which it was first applied when in December, 1823, we were called upon to give notice in general terms not only to Russia, but to Russia, Austria, and Prussia, combined in the Holy Alliance, that we would permit no new European colonies on these continents. In January, 1824, Mr. Clay offered in the House of Representatives a joint resolution declaring that the American people "would not see, without serious inquietude, any forcible intervention by the allied powers of Europe in behalf of Spain" in order to aid her in reducing her colonies to subjection; and the House actually passed a resolution declaring that the people of the United States should be "left free to act, in any crisis, in such manner as their feelings of friendship toward those (South American) republics, and as their own honor and policy, may at the time dictate." One of our eminent authorities (Mr. John Bassett Moore, professor of international law in Columbia College) in a recent studied attempt to confine the Monroe doctrine within very narrow limits has been frank enough to admit that in the resolution last referred to "there is certainly great wisdom. To attempt to anticipate particular cases would be a futile experiment; while, if an effort were made to employ terms so general as to cover all future cases, contingencies might arise in which the government would find itself seriously embarrassed by its own unadvised declarations." Passing over President Polk's application of the doctrine in connection with the

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dispute with Great Britain as to the Oregon territory, and in regard to the possible intervention of European powers by reason of our annexation of Texas, we find that President Cleveland declared in the recent controversy concerning the Venezuelan boundary, that "the doctrine upon which we stand is strong and sound because its enforcement is important to our peace and safety as a nation, and is essential to the integrity of our free institutions and the tranquil maintenance of our distinctive form of government. It was intended to apply to every stage of our national life, and cannot become obsolete while our Republic endures. If the balance of power is justly a cause for jealous anxiety among the governments of the old world, and a subject for our absolute non-interference, none the less is an observance of the Monroe doctrine of vital concern to our people and government." He then adds that "the Monroe doctrine finds its recognition in those principles of international law which are based upon the theory that every nation shall have its rights protected and its just claims enforced."

Since that doctrine, originally acquiesced in by Russia and the Holy Alliance, has been frankly accepted by Great Britain in the recent Venezuela controversy, in which we clearly announced our purpose to arbitrate upon our own initiative between that country and the greatest of the world powers, and to enforce our award if need be by force of arms, we need not now concern ourselves with the ancient contention, whether or no the doctrine in question is really a part of the international law of the New World. The fact of its existence has been irrevocably settled; the only question that remains is as to its just limitations. Spaniards of all parties have concurred in the conclusion that President Cleveland was a wise and conservative statesman, so far as an observance of their international rights was concerned; and his memorable message to the second session of the Fifty-fourth Congress received at their hands almost universal approval. While he did not attempt to actually enforce our supreme power of arbitration against them, because he conceived that the proper time for its exercise had not then arrived, he, looking with a prophetic eye to the future, was careful to declare that, "When the inability of Spain to deal successfully with the insurrection has become manifest, and it is demonstrated that her sovereignty is extinct in

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Cuba *for all purposes of its rightful existence, and when a hopeless struggle for its re-establishment has degenerated into a strife which means nothing more than the useless sacrifice of human life and the utter destruction of the very subject-matter of the conflict,* a situation will be presented in which our obligations to the sovereign of Spain will be superseded by higher obligations, which we can hardly hesitate to recognize and discharge." This notable and eloquent passage is nothing but the expression in a clear and dogmatic form of a condition necessarily inherent in the admission made by us when the Monroe doctrine was originally proclaimed, to the effect that we would not attempt to seize upon or interfere with any European colony then actually existing upon this continent. In making that admission we necessarily reserved our right to protect our own interests in the event that the sovereignty of any European power should become extinct "for all purposes of its rightful existence;" or in the event that any such power should attempt to inflict irreparable loss upon us through the destruction of the colony itself. The sovereignty of any country over any colony is nothing more than a political trust which must be determined when the trustee attempts to destroy the subject-matter of the trust itself. If, therefore, Spain is now attempting to destroy Cuba, and thus to extinguish not only her own rights, but our own therein, her sovereignty has already passed under the jurisdiction of that fundamental principle upon which rests the international law of the New World. By virtue of that higher law we now have a perfect legal right to stay her hands, not only in our own interests, but in those of civilization.

THE MORE ANCIENT RIGHT OF INTERVENTION.

It is not at all necessary, however, that we should rely for the protection of our rights in the present case upon the Monroe doctrine; we can disregard it altogether and safely appeal to the more ancient principle of "Intervention," long recognized as a fundamental principle of international law by all nations. Phillimore* tells us that: "The right of self-defence incident to every state may in certain circumstances carry with it the necessity of *intervening* in the relations, and to a certain extent of controlling the conduct, of another state; and this where the interest of the *intervener* is not immediately and directly but mediately and

*Vol. I., page 554.

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indirectly affected. This remark brings us to the consideration of the doctrine of Intervention." While Great Britain protested in connection with the Neapolitan Revolution of 1820 against the improper exercise of that right in that case, she at the same time stated that "no government could be more prepared than the British government was to uphold the right of any state or states to interfere where their own immediate security or essential interests are seriously endangered by the internal transactions of another state," provided the exercise of such right was "justified by the strongest necessity, and to be limited and regulated thereby." In 1827 the right of intervention in favor of Greece as against Turkey was emphatically asserted in a treaty signed in that year between Great Britain, France, and Russia, whose preamble declared that the three contracting parties were "penetrated with the necessity of putting an end to the sanguinary contest which, by delivering up the Greek provinces and the isles of the Archipelago to all the disorders of anarchy, produces daily fresh impediments to the commerce of the European states, and gives occasion to piracies, which not only expose the subjects of the high contracting parties to considerable losses, but, besides, render necessary burdensome measures of protection and repression." A very graphic description of our own case! In October, 1861, a convention was made at London between Great Britain, France, and Spain, "professedly for the purpose of obtaining redress and security from Mexico for citizens of the contracting parties. . . . It is clear that this convention authorized a war of conquest upon Mexico, with no limitation except such as might be afforded by the agreement of the allies to leave the conquered people free to choose and constitute their own form of government. . . . The convention may therefore be said to have contemplated an armed occupation of Mexico, until the people should have adopted such a government as, in the opinion of the allies, would be responsible and stable." *

Under this well-established doctrine of intervention, which all modern nations, including Spain, have distinctly recognized and exercised, we certainly have the clear legal right to intervene in order to put an end to the war in Cuba, provided our own interests are sufficiently affected by Spain's inability to do so.

*Wheaton's International Law, page 126.

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The vital question is one of fact of which, by necessity, we are the sole judge: Has the time arrived when the situation of affairs in Cuba, including the methods of devastation employed in the prosecution of the war, will justify us morally in the exercise of the right of intervention? If there was any reasonable doubt upon the subject heretofore, it has been entirely removed by the policy of the Spanish government described in the *Bando* of General Weyler of May 27th last, as "the concentration of the inhabitants of the rural country, and the destruction of resources in all places where the instructions given are not carried into effect." By that dreadful order has been drawn an ideal picture of "a strife which means nothing more than the useless sacrifice of human life and the utter destruction of the very subject-matter of the conflict," because thereby a methodical system of devastation has been established in which both the innocent and guilty are embraced in orders commanding the burning or unroofing of dwellings, the destruction of growing crops, the wasting of fields, the suspension of tillage, and the driving of the helpless rural population into the overcrowded garrison towns, where, as all the world knows, disease and want have celebrated a perfect carnival of death among them. Since Spain herself has thus resolved by fire and famine to destroy those she cannot conquer, the time has certainly arrived when the government of the United States must either discharge its duty to itself and to humanity, or it must abdicate the high office with which destiny has clothed it, and frankly declare that it is incapable of protecting its own interests and of guarding the peace of the new world. In its final form the question is for us one of moral dignity.

A SIMPLE MORAL REMEDY.

What are the wisest and most practical means to be employed in the discharge of the grave moral duty, which has been put aside too long already? In the light of my observation and experience, involving a somewhat intimate knowledge of Spain's internal condition and resources, financial, political, and military, I cannot doubt that the simple application by the government of the United States of moral pressure, provided that such pressure is exerted by the legislative and executive departments acting together in firm and hearty concert, will now be sufficient to accomplish the end in view.

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The difficulty heretofore has been the unhappy differences of opinion that have rendered such united action impossible. The time has passed when the isolated action of any one department, or the discussion with Spain of any one phase of the question, or of any particular case of wrong to any of our citizens, can bring about that good and final result that will surely follow firm and decided action upon the part of our government dealing as a unit with the question as a whole. What I hope to see is the prompt adoption by Congress, upon its reassembling, of a joint resolution embodying three clear and definite propositions: The first, asserting our right and duty not only to ourselves but to humanity, by virtue of the universally recognized doctrine of intervention, as well as by virtue of the Monroe doctrine, to put an end to the dreadful conflict so long raging in Cuba, because it involves not only the constant disturbance of our internal peace but also the destruction of great commercial and property interests of our citizens; the second, asserting that, after enduring patiently all such evils incident to fifteen years of war in Cuba out of the last twenty-nine, the government of the United States has offered in vain its friendly offices as peacemaker to Spain in hope of aiding her without offence to her susceptibilities in bringing to a close a strife so destructive to the material interests of both countries; the third, declaring that the government of the United States, in view of Spain's refusal to accept such friendly and respectful mediation, has now resolved to exercise upon its own responsibility its entire moral influence, to the end that the war in Cuba may be brought to a speedy close, provided Spain fails to accomplish that result in a reasonable time to be clearly indicated.

The undertone of this resolution should then leave no doubt as to the fact that in the event the application of such moral means fails to produce the necessary result, we reserve to ourselves the right to take such other or further action in the premises as may be made necessary by future events. The mere passage of such a resolution by decided majorities in both houses, coupled with a hearty concurrence upon the part of the President, will, I cannot doubt, so completely prostrate the present Cuban policy of Spain that it will die in a short time, without further action upon our part. The Spanish people themselves, worn out and exhausted by an unfruitful strife of which the

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masses who are mainly called upon for military service are thoroughly weary, will see that the continuance of the conflict under existing conditions is impossible; while foreign nations friendly to Spain will counsel her to pause in the presence of such serious contingencies. If, on the other hand, Spain should resolve to resist our moral authority in the matter, she could do no more than suspend diplomatic relations; the passage of such a resolution as has been indicated could not be justly regarded as a *casus belli*. And yet it would be surely fatal in its results; it would so completely hit the mark that the fierce bird of prey that is now whetting its beak upon the vitals of Cuba would fall from its perch pierced through and through.

HANNIS TAYLOR.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

SUGGESTION FOR A STABLE CURRENCY.

SHOULD the greenback system be continued, or should the greenbacks be retired? If retired, how, and what kind of currency should take their place? In other words, should the government of the United States continue in a kind of banking business, issuing money in the form of legal tender notes and being immediately responsible for their redemption in gold?

That the government of the United States should in some way provide for a safe, uniform, and permanent currency or medium of exchange for the transaction of business in this country, and one, also, that would be recognized in our dealings with other countries, I think no one will deny. The question now is, how this can best be done in the interest of business and the whole people. At present our currency is mixed—part being greenbacks or United States notes, part national bank notes, then treasury notes, silver certificates and gold certificates. The difference between these and the responsibility behind each class, the average citizen does not understand. That there should be a change made in our financial system, making a uniform currency of uniform value and uniform security, I think is evident to every business man. This cannot be done so long as the responsibility of the currency is divided up as at present. The United States should take the entire charge and management of the matter or let some one else do so. To my mind the government should not engage in the banking business, but turn that matter entirely over to the national banks under such rules and regulations and laws as would fully protect the interests of the whole people. To suggest a plan whereby that can, in my opinion, best be done is the principal object of this article.

The government has at this time outstanding greenbacks to the amount of $340,000,000 (in these calculations I omit fractions for convenience' sake), of treasury notes $152,600,000, of gold certificates $66,400,000. The aggregate of these is $565,600,000 of currency of the three different kinds issued by the government, all of which are liable to be presented for redemption in gold at any time. I do not speak of the silver certificates, as the silver to redeem them is now on deposit with the government. In order to get out of the banking business, the government must find some way to retire this $565,600,000 of its different kinds of currency, and at the same time provide a substitute for that amount of currency. Can this be done? I think it can in the following way.

The capital stock of the present existing national banks is $650,000,000, on which, under the existing laws, they have the right to issue $584,000,000 of their own national bank notes. By reason, however, of the present laws taxing their issue, the high price of government bonds which they are

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obliged, under the law, to deposit with the government in order to issue their national bank notes, it is considered a loss to do so, and consequently at the present time there is in circulation but $206,800,000 of national bank notes, or $377,000,000 less than they are allowed to issue by law. National banks cannot afford to issue their own bills under the present law; therefore the law should be changed so that they could afford to do so. The tax on national bank notes issued should be repealed, and at the same time the government should provide a low rate of interest bond that national banks should deposit with the government as security for their outstanding circulation, and also require them to issue their own notes to the full extent of the capital stock of their bank, all of which should by law be made legal tender and redeemable in gold at the Treasury of the United States in the manner I will hereafter explain.

As I have before stated, the capital stock of the national banks now existing is $650,000,000. The present capital stock of the existing state and private banks is $260,000,000. I am assuming that if the suggestions made herein should be adopted by the government, then one-half at least of these private and state banks would convert themselves into national banks. This would increase to $780,000,000 the capital of the national banks which, under this plan, would issue $780,000,000 of their own currency to take the place of the present outstanding national bank notes, amounting to $206,800,000 and the $565,600,000 which the government should retire, or $772,400,000 in all. Thus practically no change would be made in the amount of the currency as a whole, which would all be legal tender and of gold value. Furthermore, it could and would be increased by the establishment of more national banks as the commercial demands of the country required it.

Now, the plan proposed to put this in force is as follows.

Let the government issue a long-term gold bond, bearing 2½ per cent. interest, with which to retire their gold certificates, treasury notes and greenbacks, and which national banks must deposit with the Treasurer of the United States as security for their bank note issue, to the extent of 80 per cent. of their capital stock. In addition to this, the banks should be required to deposit with the Treasurer of the United States gold to the amount of 20 per cent. of their capital, all of which is for the purpose of securing the note holder against loss and to redeem the notes in gold if any note holders desire it. Therefore, for this $780,000,000 of national bank notes outstanding there would be deposited with the Treasurer of the United States $624,000,000 of government bonds and also be $156,000,000 of gold, with which to redeem any of these notes upon their being presented for that purpose. These national bank notes would all be upon exactly the same basis, with exactly the same kind of security behind each, to be treated by the government as a common whole, regardless of the bank issuing them. Whenever this gold deposit should be reduced to one-half of the original deposit, then the Treasurer of the United States should have the right to call for 5 per cent. or 10 per cent. more gold as he might think best, to be by the banks deposited with him in exchange for that much national bank money, which had been redeemed; this call to be made upon every national bank in proportion to its capital stock.

Were this plan adopted by the United States government, our national currency all over the business world would be the same as gold and be received at its exchange value, like a Bank of England note.

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It may be asked by some, why should the government retire $565,000,000 of non-interest bearing currency indebtedness and issue instead thereof interest-bearing bonds? My answer is that the interest on these bonds being but the small sum of less than $15,000,000 per annum, the United States could well afford to pay this, rather than keep the business interests of the country stirred up by the issue of more bonds and the uncertainty of financial affairs, as has been done during the last few years. Besides, with this plan established, there would be a perpetual basis for the entire banking and currency interests of the country, and the government could well afford for that sum to let that much of its indebtedness remain unpaid for all time, no matter what its ability to pay might be, in order to keep the currency of the country on a safe and permanent basis.

While this article has not attempted to solve the silver feature of the question in detail, yet, if the government would pass a law making silver or silver certificates legal tender for a limited amount, say $25, and providing that no national bank notes should be of a smaller denomination than $10, but that silver and silver certificates should occupy the field below $25, it would give a position to silver that should, I think, satisfy its friends, without being a threat to lower the value of our currency.

E. J. SANFORD.

BEAUTIFUL EVIL.

DON QUIXOTE was led to his career of burlesque knight-errantry by reading the extravagant romances of his time. Nowadays we often hear of youthful Quixotes who are led into no less absurd, but far less innocent, careers of adventure by a similar cause. The hero of La Mancha was turned into a ridiculous but harmless crank; his modern ectypes, unless they are sickened at the outset by some lucky disaster, for which their fiction rubbish has prescribed no remedy, become more or less desperate criminals. But, as is always true of fiction rubbish, they find no realization of its charm in actual experience. Instead of the picturesque perpetration of crime in heroic defiance of the law and its officers, which they fondly anticipated, they find themselves engaged in sneaking villany, and then in sneaking attempts to escape its penalties. Instead of the luxurious ease varied with romantic adventure so thrillingly described in the stories, they find themselves leading lives of ceaseless terror and self-contempt, hunted from hole to hole like the human vermin they have become.

If the revulsion from romanticism to realism which has taken place in the higher class of fiction could descend also to the lower, it would go far toward the correction of an influence baleful in the extreme to thousands of young lives. But, unhappily, such a reform is impossible in the very nature of things, for in proportion as fiction becomes true to life it takes rank with the higher order, and thus passes beyond the class of readers by whom it is most needed.

For this evil influence of low sensational literature the newspaper must share the responsibility with the cheap novel. A splendid villain is always a more interesting character than a disgusting brute, so whatever nature or fortune may have done to favor a criminal is usually grossly exaggerated. If he happens to possess comeliness of person, grace of manner, or intelligence above the common in his class, the public is usually regaled with rhapsodical descriptions of his beauty, refinement, and intellect, and even

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visitors to his cell are apt to be so hypnotized by their reading and their own fancy that they fail to discover the exaggeration.

The typical rascal is never the hero that romance, whether in the dime novel or the newspaper, pictures him. His intelligence is, as a rule, of a very low order, confined to keenness and cunning, which act in the narrow circle of first preying upon his victims and then trying to outwit justice. Compare it with the intelligence which works for good. His courage is generally greatly overestimated. He rarely fights except when he has the overwhelming advantage, or when he is driven into a corner. His magnanimity and amiability—qualities especially credited to him by writers and readers of the low romantic school—are myths. They are no part of his business, save as they serve to cloak his villany. Pure selfishness, or at best physical temperament, is at the bottom of his good humor, apparent generosity, and even his family affection, for when the crucial test comes he will sacrifice anybody and everybody to self. The proverbial "honor among thieves" holds good only up to a certain point. The moment it becomes clear that no advantage, direct or indirect, remains to the individuals of the gang, the vaunted honor is thrown to the winds, the gang disbands, each clutches what he can from the wreck of their common fortunes, and henceforth preys upon his former pals with no more compunction than he feels in preying upon the rest of the world.

Better acquaintance with them would soon disarm the fascinating villains who play such havoc with susceptible hearts. George Eliot's "Tito" was the handsomest and cleverest of the whole precious fraternity. But she allows no one to be charmed either with his "loathsome beauty" or his fiendish cleverness. She makes you so intimate with him, and so soon, that you have no chance to be charmed before you are horrified and disgusted. One isn't inclined to pet a venomous reptile very long, however brilliant its scales or graceful its curves.

Beautiful evil! heroic villany! They have no existence save in the imagination of the poet and the romancer. In real life they are impossibilities. Such beings as Milton's magnificent "Satan" and Goethe's graceful "Mephistopheles" could no more exist than a hippogriff or a minotaur. Their nearest possible realizations would be simply detestable, horrible.

EDWARD C. JACKSON.

AMERICAN SCHOOL HISTORIES ON THE REVOLUTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW:

SIR.—It seems to me, with all deference, that Dr. Goldwin Smith in your September number does not give sufficient attention to the statement in Higginson's History: "Probably they would not have objected if they had been represented in the British government, so they could at least have had a voice in deciding what their taxes should be; *but this was not allowed them.*" Such representation was never asked for, and therefore it is surely a perversion of the facts of history to say it was not allowed. On the other hand, the colonies spurned in advance any contemplated offer of such representation. The circular letter dated February 11, 1768, addressed to the other legislatures by that of Massachusetts, cited in Murdoch's *Nova Scotia*, Vol. II., p. 483, after urging the illegality of taxation without representation, proceeds: "This House further are of opinion that their constituents cannot by any possibility be represented in the parliament, and that it will

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be forever impracticable that they should be equally represented there, and consequently not at all." Further on the statement is made: "This House think that a taxation of their constituents even without their consent, grievous as it is, would be preferable to any representation that could be admitted for them there." Nor do any of the school books cited by the Professor seem to point out that accredited agents of the colonies in London admitted that parliament could constitutionally impose on the colonies an external tax, by duties on imports, but not an internal tax, like that sought to be raised by the Stamp Act; that the latter was abandoned, and the admitted authority was not exercised in an oppressive manner.

The Professor says: "The acrimony and the space allotted [in the school books] to the vindication of the Revolutionary War diminished with the increase in the distance of the date of publication from that event." As time bears us still further from the period of the struggle perhaps some wiser and more impartial generation may decide that more moderation on the part of the popular leaders, and an honest and strenuous endeavor by them to suppress mob violence, and the wanton wholesale destruction of the property of innocent people, would have rendered the "great schism" as impracticable and unnecessary as a separation between the North and South was in 1861.

It does not appear what prominence is given in American school histories to the "Acts for the Pacification of America," passed by the British Parliament February 17, 1778. I have heard well-informed Americans say they never heard of them.

A. W. SAVARY.

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